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FEBRUARY 8, 1985

Authentically black, truly Catholic

EDWARD K. BRAXTON

The challenge remains:

Liberation theology '85

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SEGUNDO GALILEA
FRANCIS SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA
LEO J. O'DONOVAN

J. Bryan Hehir
MIDDLE EAST IN MOTION
Abigail McCarthy
CAN WE LIGHT THE WAY?
Richard Wightman Fox
CHRISTOPHER LASCH & THE SELF
Raymond A. Schroth
WHAT DO ADOLESCENTS WAI
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Correspondence

Bishops & the Talmud

Livermore, Calif.

To the Editors: In their pastoral letter on the American economy the Catholic bishops are teaching our business schools the lesson of the Talmud: even when competing against your fellow man in the race for self and power, you still are your brother's keeper.

HYMAN OLKEN

Not by Novak alone

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Your editorial ["Shortchanging the Pastoral," November 30] kindly observes that "Some of the major points made by this 'lay commission' could well be incorporated or emphasized in the bishops' letter." In fact, much too little attention has been paid to the large common ground shared by the two letters. Both thoroughly reject *laissez-faire* and Social Darwinism; both justify an active role for the state in a healthy political economy, especially in matters of poverty and welfare. Indeed, both have remarkably similar positions on protectionism and keeping U.S. markets open to the goods of the third world; on cooperative forethought; on economic dynamism, job creation, and invention; on concern for the poor as the measure of a just society, and on the principle of welfare reform; on multinationals, and a host of other issues.

Governor Cuomo's recent praise of "*A* Lay Letter" (not "*The* Lay Letter") illustrates the achievement of the commission in implicitly legitimating both the Democratic and the Republican parties as natural exponents of the proper tension in our political economy; one tends to stress the *polity*, the other the *economy*. The commission was helped in this respect by the strong concerns of the approximately one-third of its members who are Democrats, others being Republicans and Independents.

Again, I wish I could say that *Toward the Future* was solely my own work. It went through more than a dozen drafts, in order to achieve the unanimous consent of a very strong-minded, experienced committee. As the chief drafter, I served the will of the commission members, not my own.

The opening pages spring from a suggestion of John Cort; the "Conspectus" followed the design of James Q. Wilson of Harvard. The long sections on earlier U.S. bishops and Tocqueville were suggested by James Finn. The sections on "social justice" and "virtue" were guided by Brian Benestad, Ralph McInerny and others. Sections on labor and education were suggested by Robert Spaeth and James McFadden (former Labor Commissioner of New York). Elements in every one of the policy sections in Part Three were derivedfrom the separate hearings held on each section. Every page was argued out, line by line, in our difficult drafting sessions ("Thirty-one Excedrin," they seemed to me). . . .

Surely, it is something of an historical accomplishment to have so many distinguished Americans and Catholics express so forthrightly and publicly their affection and esteem both for Catholic social teaching and for the continuing, unfinished American experiment. Al Smith may have said that he didn't know what an encyclical is; that will never again be good enough.

MICHAEL NOVAK

Gutter commentary

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: As a member of the group that produced a lay letter on Catholic social teaching and the U.S. economy, I found some of your comments both misleading and gratuitously insulting to every member of that group ["Shortchanging The Pastoral," November 30].

Misleading: You state that the document "owed far more to the recent writings . . . of Michael Novak than to anything else." While I have no desire to slight the contribution of Novak in the preparation of "Toward the Future," your statement obscures the fact that much in the letter is due not only to the often intense discussions we held over a period of time but to the contributions of a wide range of witnesses.

Invoking "truth in advertising," you imply that to describe ourselves as "a representative group of lay Catholics" is to depart from that truth, and that your own description of us as a group consisting "almost entirely of corporation executives and political activists linked to the Reagan administration" is more accurate. It is not. A small group of thirty-one people cannot, of course, represent everyone. But our group did have representatives of government (former high-level officials), business, union, academic, journalistic, legal, and educational communities; of black and Hispanic communities. It included Republicans and Democrats, supporters of Reagan and of Mondale.

Having said that our lay commission spent $100,000 and got mostly what Novak had already published you say that this "was perhaps all too revealing an example of the kind of entrepreneurship they praised so highly." This is gutter commentary, unworthy of the issues, our serious attempt to deal with them, and *Commonweal*'s well-deserved reputation for civility in argument.

JAMES FINN

The editors reply

We are happy to register the reports of Mr. Novak and Mr. Finn that their "lay letter" was a genuine group effort. it remains our impression that, whatever the arduous process of composition, the

(Continued on page 94)

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THE SYNOD: HOPE & APPREHENSION

OF ALL THE immediate responses to Pope John Paul's unexpected announcement of a synod to review changes initiated by Vatican II, perhaps none was more direct and honest than that of the distinguished, senior church historian John Tracy Ellis. Said Msgr. Ellis simply: "I would dare to say there is not a person in this country who knows what the pope has in mind."

Why should we even be worried about what the pope has in mind? Isn't there plenty of evidence that the developments in the church after the Vatican Council have been epochal — but also mixed and in many cases halting? No one should dispute the need for self-scrutiny, for taking stock searchingly and willingly. The prospect of the church's leadership gathering from all parts of the globe for a frank and full evaluation of the council's aftermath is, on the face of it, a promising one.

But be honest. The pope's call to a synod comes in the midst of continuing tensions, not only between Rome and individual thinkers or activists, but between Rome and local bishops or religious superiors, in whose capacities the Vatican appears to have limited confidence. This very context might itself recommend such a synod — as the occasion for resolving conflict or at least for affirming a procedure of dialogue and internal discipline. But does either Pope John Paul's style or the record of past synods suggest such a collegial outcome?

Certainly the Holy Father is a sincere, even a zealous adherent to the council. The problem is that Vatican II is not all of a single piece. There are divergent emphases in the council's documents. The council, furthermore, was not only a set of texts; it was an historic event that vindicated voices Rome had tried to silence and that discredited the claims to exclusive truth and authority which had supported those attempts to stifle inquiry. Can one logically celebrate the statements of the council without acknowledging the generations of dissent that made it possible, without repenting the closed and complacent triumphalism that made it necessary?

Yes, there have been misinterpretations of the council. But these are not easily disentangled from the evolving process of understanding the council's full significance. Our own nation took seventy-five years to recognize the contradiction between slavery and our founding text committing us to liberty and equality. Indeed, those texts remain but partially understood and realized after two centuries. Why not assume a similar evolution of understanding in the case of Vatican II?

The difficulty, of course, is that no institutional means for distinguishing misinterpretation from evolving understanding have emerged, at least not any that can so unequivocally base their legitimacy on Vatican II that they, too, are not subject to the same disputes over interpretation. Progress has been made. Forms of dialogue are increasingly accepted. So too deliberation and decision by national conferences of bishops. The Vatican has modified its methods somewhat to conform to the council, but by and large its authority is still derived and its actions conducted in a

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manner that can be only narrowly — and therefore disputably — legitimated by Vatican II. True, there are many Catholics who see no problem with Rome exercising authority after the council in approximately the same unilateral fashion as before. There is even a species of Catholic Bonapartist who is positively exalted by the thought of a pope on a white horse. To some extent, John Paul II fulfills their dream, although the Holy Father's appeal in fact touches a much wider group of Catholics. Indeed, for a time, it seemed as though his personal charisma might supply the unity and direction for which institutional mechanisms were still lacking. That seems less and less likely today. It is genuinely distressing to recognize the extent to which the pontiff himself now provokes hostility and suspicion, not among average Catholics for the most part but precisely among many whose lives are directly controlled by church institutions and who have most consciously and wholeheartedly devoted themselves to Christ's work within that framework.

Those who have strongly believed that the very process of dialogue and debate could itself provide whatever correction was needed to maintain Catholic identity and continuity have been remiss as well. They—we—underestimated the difficulties of the post-conciliar scene. They have often been reluctant to engage in vigorous criticism when it might have involved "our side" — a reluctance reinforced by natural solidarity whenever critics and dissenters within the church appeared to be the objects of unhearing or authoritarian censure.

A synod — solidly based on the collegiality affirmed at the council — should be the solution to this problem. Alas, the promise of synods has not been fulfilled. Their agendas have too frequently been narrowly set, and when the bishops have tried to engage in the kind of open discussion that marked the council, their views have too often been simply passed by in the final documents. Can this synod be different? Within a ten-day schedule and without a longer period of preparation? The Holy Spirit never ceases to surprise. But that has not saved the church — and even great popes — from tragic retreats into the institutional shell in the past.

SANCTUARY'S LAMP

Forty years ago January 18, en route to Soviet army headquarters in Debrecen, Hungary, Raoul Wallenberg was "disappeared." Although the verb had not yet been coined (Southern Hemisphere, 1970s), Wallenberg would have understood instantly its nature and scope. As a Swedish diplomat stationed in Budapest during World War II, he saved more than 100,000 Hungarian Jews by issuing them Swedish passports, and providing them material support in fleeing the Nazi bloodmaze. That Wallenberg fell prey to the iron gulag of another power, one meant to facilitate his liberation, may not have surprised him. Yet it remains a poignant, bitter irony for the rest of us.

Just as poignant an irony is being played out in the courts of the United States today. A nation of immigrants, many of us political refugees, is being asked to sit trial on a group of fellow citizens who, like Raoul Wallenberg, have acted on the injunction: "Thou shalt not stand idly by the blood of thy brother." In this case it is the so-called "sanctuary movement" — over two hundred churches and synagogues throughout the country that have acted as an underground railway to harbor refugees from Central America. The blood that cries out this time is that of Central American peasants, teachers, and catechists, the blood of anyone caught on the wrong side of someone else's exacting list.

The issues and the motivations of both the refugees and those offering them illegal hospitality are complex. Blood issues always are. We are forced to ask the question of refugees streaming across our southern borders: do they come in search of economic promise or political asylum? In his recent book *Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy* (Brookings, $22.95, 150 pp.), Milton D. Morris notes that Mexico's projected population boom and its inability to provide jobs for its labor force will continue to force Mexican citizens to look for work elsewhere. Yet, Morris concludes, there is no way to determine what proportion of current immigration to the U.S. is purely the product of economic privation: "Political forces are among the principal causes of refugee flows."

We also must ask whether the sanctuary movement itself is purely and simply a humanitarian rescue project, or is it propelled by an equally sincere but somewhat different concern for raising political consciousness? Can the two objectives really be separated? Is it true, as an immigration official charged, that the refugees are pawns in a debate aimed at changing U.S. foreign policy toward Central America?

United States immigration policy is itself a political thicket: witness Congress and the Simpson-Mazzoli bill's many lives, many deaths. But note the ghastly consequences of a policy that fails to take into account the alarming cry of those attempting to flee for their lives. What may have been at one point mere indifference, as David S. Wyman has pointed out in his *The Abandonment of the Jews*, may become something far more reprehensible and finally damning.

The present case, brought to prominence by the sanctuary movement, presents an avenue for avoiding past failures. The Refugee Act of 1980 warranted the granting of Extended Voluntary Departure status to political refugees. While this status presently applies to Ethiopians, Poles, Lebanese, and Afghans, it has not been granted to refugees from Central America. It should be, at least until their status is more clearly understood. And as Representative James McNulty, Jr. told Congress last September, "I would suggest that the state of affairs in that country (El Salvador) are so severe as to place the live of most anyone in jeopardy."

This is the merit of the sanctuary movement, whatever its inconsistencies or political motivation: it will not allow us to abandon our responsibilities. It will not allow us to be doomed by our own indifference.

Copies of *Commonweal*'s special anniversary issue on Faith and Economics are again available. $2 each; 10-24 copies $1.50 each; 25 copies $1 each (Postpaid).

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UNTIDINESS REVISITED

Three issues ago *Commonweal* published "The Case for Untidiness" by Arthur Hertzberg. It was an article dealing with abortion, but dealing with it as a specific instance of more general questions about religion, morality, law, and conscience. Although Rabbi Hertzberg evoked images of Khomeini's bloody purges in Iran and of fundamentalist ultranationalism in Israel, his real focus was on what he termed an "attack" on "the liberal Western state, with its commitment to individual human rights," in our own country. That attack is manifest in the demand of "some unabashed right-wingers . . . that America must return to being a 'Christian nation.' " But the danger, he suggests, is not less present in the claim of "the more sophisticated" that there is a " 'natural law,' which supposedly teaches what is good for everybody." Is there such a thing as a universal "natural law"? Hertzberg says no: "What it teaches as universal truth applicable to all is really a rarified version" of the particular religious principles of those — from Maimonides and Spinoza to Archbishop John J. O'Connor — who would invoke it. In effect, the case for legally restricting abortion is no less a theocratic imposition of some believers' will on society, "in the name of their God," than is Khomeini's imposition of his version of Islamic orthodoxy on all of Iran.

This is an important argument. Hertzberg's position directly challenges our own view that opposition to abortion is not an imposition of religious doctrine (whether "unabashed" or "sophisticated") in the sense rejected by the First Amendment. But beyond that, he also challenges the whole framework by which thinkers and leaders in the Catholic church, and many outside the church as well, have commonly linked morality and public policy — not only in the area of abortion but in the areas of racial equality, nuclear warfare, economic justice, and even fundamental political liberties.

We should be careful, however, not to let our disagreement with Rabbi Hertzberg eclipse the considerable amount of common ground he has staked out. We too are concerned about the well-being of the liberal state. We too recognize the threat that religious zealotry can pose to it. We too are willing to live "in untidiness," which is why we can oppose most abortions morally and favor greater restrictions on abortion than currently exist, but still reject as imprudent the idea of a sweeping legal prohibition of virtually all abortions.

We also welcome Rabbi Hertzberg's acknowledgment that "the issues are not quite as clearcut as the most passionate protagonists on both sides of the argument would have it." Most of all, we take note of his forthright assertion "that I find wholesale abortions, in the hundreds of thousands, morally revolting." Practically speaking, then, we are in agreement that abortion on the current scale indicates a grave *moral* disorder, whatever conclusions one might reach about its legal permissibility.

But what about the argument that there is no such thing as "natural law" and *ipso facto* no grounds on which to oppose abortion which are not in fact only disguised religious teaching, "with some universalist face-lift," and therefore impermissibly invoked legally (or perhaps even morally) outside the circle of that religious tradition?

Let us follow this argument more closely. Some people, Rabbi Hertzberg says, insist that "natural law" forbids all abortions. But Jewish teaching unequivocally commands abortion when necessary to save the life of the mother. Consequently, an amendment banning abortions without exception would force a conscientious rabbi like himself "to give moral instruction to Jews which would be illegal in the law of America." To Hertzberg, this is unthinkable and exposes the false universalistic claims of this "natural law" as, in truth, particularistic.

As a practical matter, of course, this example is not very telling. While right-to-life activists try to minimize division over the various anti-abortion measures currently proposed, knowledgeable pro-life lobbyists give little chance to any measure not making an explicit exception for danger to the mother's survival. Even the one anti-abortion amendment not making such an exception explicit, but yet enjoying a degree of popularity in pro-life ranks, is said by spokesmen like Senator Helms to provide for such an exception implicitly.

As a logical matter, Rabbi Hertzberg's example does not withstand examination either. The fact that there is a conflict between Jewish teaching and this specific conclusion which some people might draw from "natural law" does not necessarily tell against natural law in general. Perhaps it is only this particular reading of natural law that is unfounded. Perhaps its adherents have overreached, as adherents are wont to do, and gone beyond what other, more modest exponents of natural-law principles might be willing to conclude about the rare but excruciating cases where a mother's survival is threatened.

On the other hand, perhaps it is traditional Jewish teaching which cannot be considered the absolute standard for society. Conscientious Jehovah's Witnesses, for example, teach that Jehovah's Witness parents should refuse blood transfusions for their children even when such refusal means certain death. American courts have repeatedly put that religious principle beyond the pale of legality. Likewise, the state cannot refuse to "impose" racial integration simply because there are conscientious Christians who believe segregation to be ordained by Scripture, nor can the state refuse to intervene against wife-battering because some sects entertain peculiar views on the prerogatives of husbands. We do not pretend for a moment to equate the moral weight of such sectarian traditions with that of Judaism, or to deny that the government should do everything reasonably possible to accommodate religious beliefs. Nonetheless, in the end, the state cannot withdraw from essential matters, especially life-and-death ones, because some faith, whether Catholic, Jewish, Methodist, Jehovah's Witness, Quaker, snakehandler, or whatever, holds a religious position opposed to state action. To do otherwise would be to admit the very kind of fundamentalist theocracy Rabbi Hertzberg fears. If a religious group wants to propose moral

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principles as guidelines or limits for public policy, it must offer those principles in terms that citizens outside the group can understand and evaluate. (Which, by the way, is eminently possible in the case of abortion to save a mother's life.)

And that returns us to the question of "natural law." This is not a term we have favored in our own discussions of abortion. It has been applied to theories of philosophers as different as Aristotle and Locke. In modern times, it has been identified, often pejoratively or polemically, with religious thinkers. All of this leads to no small amount of confusion. In fact, versions of natural law currently hold their own among professional philosophers. But that is not the key to our difference with Rabbi Hertzberg. No, the real problem is this: in dismissing what he calls "natural law," he appears to dismiss any basis for a public morality except what has emerged, more or less by happenstance or history, as "consensus."

Now "consensus" — or "what we tend to define by consent" — is important, at some level even crucial, in the political life of a stable, pluralist, liberal democracy. But how is a consensus changed?

On what basis is it consolidated or maintained? Those who would challenge an existing consensus — about the treatment of women, say, or minorities, or the unborn, or even nature — must obviously appeal to something other than the consensus itself. Hertzberg leaves them with nothing but illegitimately disguised religious teaching. Ironically, what consensus we do enjoy about the liberal state and individual rights, which Rabbi Hertzberg sets out to defend, was itself established in large measure through appeals to precisely the kind of "natural law" principles which he here rejects.

"Is there a limit to tolerance and relativism?" Rabbi Hertzberg finally asks — and he can find "no clearcut answer." Having reached such a sorry outcome, he might have done well to reexamine what led him there. Is he really so uncertain about the abominable wickedness of the Holocaust, of rape, torture, racism, and a host of other acts and attitudes? We feel confident that he is not. We feel similarly confident that he does not posit his convictions about these evils on the mere fact of "agreement everywhere on such basics" but would cry out against them to the heavens even if the society were as divided or indifferent about one or other of them as pre-Hitler Germany was about anti-Semitism. Nor do we think he would be silenced by the reply that "What you say may be applicable to those of your own religion, but applying such convictions to others is only 'imposing' a particular tradition with a universalist face-lift."

Yes, we too are skeptical about claims to universalism that sweep across historical epochs or ignore extreme circumstances. And we recognize the risk that what people claim as generally applicable moral standards frequently reflect their own religious (or class, or cultural) backgrounds. That is why such claims should be tested in public debate, not barred from it; why they should be measured against other claims, tried out on analogous cases, and so on. Our plea, in sum, is a minimal one: that the kind of moral reasoning we apply in some areas of our contemporary life not be ruled out of order in others. If talk about "human rights" or "fundamental liberties" or "natural law" is not disqualified as "rarified" religious doctrine, out of place in a pluralist polity, when used in reference to racial or sexual equality or economic justice or nuclear war, then we do not see why it should be so disqualified when applied to abortion.

To bring such forms of moral reasoning to the question of abortion is not to institute "absolutism" or install the rule of Khomeini. It is precisely to exercise that "decent concern for the opinions of all people," whatever its cost to the preconceptions of *either* pro-life or pro-choice proponents, that Rabbi Hertzberg desires to defend.

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

CAN WE LIGHT THE WAY?

THE CHURCH AS ECONOMIC AGENT

THE MEMBERS of the ad hoc committee of the Catholic bishops who developed the first draft of the pastoral letter on Catholic social teaching and the American economy had a remarkable day in the sun. From coast to coast they were front-page and prime-time news, as was the group of laymen and women who hitched their wagon to the bishops' star and quite successfully pre-empted media attention with their own version. Their effort, in fact, probably intensified interest in the bishops' message.

The attention was gratifying to the bishops, I am sure, and to Catholics in general. It is not so long ago that such a statement would have been granted cursory mention in the Saturday religion pages of the metropolitan dailies. But I think that younger clerics and lay persons were probably unprepared for the furious and cynical criticism launched both by columnists and by the man and woman in the street. The residual anti-Catholicism in this country can be frightening when it surfaces. And whenever the topic of the church and money is raised there are almost as scary unplumbed depths of lay resentment of which we catch glimpses.

The attention has now subsided — almost faded away. My friends in various parts of the country tell me that there is little or no discussion of the pastoral in their parishes — planned or otherwise — at least as yet. Presumably the committee staff and the bishops are at work on the second draft which will take account of the various critiques and expand certain sections which were only sketchily treated in the first. What attention it will attract when it is published will probably depend on whether these revisions and

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expansions are seen as significant or as a watering down of the original.

I see the development of one section as crucial — and as that most likely to fill us with hope if it is developed. I participated as a panelist on the NBC special program devoted to the pastoral, and if I could have had my way — something TV moderators cannot allow to panelists — we would have spent most of our time on the pastoral's recognition of the church as *economic agent and institution*. There it was in Section II, "Ethical Norms for Economic Life," part C, — its rights and responsibilities being discussed right along with (1) working people and labor unions, (2) managers, investors, businesses, and banks, (3) citizens and government, (4) transnational and international economic actors, and (5) consumers. Last, but surely in our minds not least — number 6 — the church! There are eight cautiously worded sub-sections (and, interestingly enough, far fewer decisive "shoulds" than in the discussion of some other economic agents). Still no one can quarrel with the unequivocal tone of the following: *"All the moral principles that govern the just operation of any economic endeavor apply to the church and its many agencies and institutions"* (Subsection 143) ; and *"Indeed the church should be exemplary in its fidelity to the principles of economic justice and its commitment to the protection of the rights of all who are associated with it"* (a quotation from *Justice in The World*, 1971 Synod).

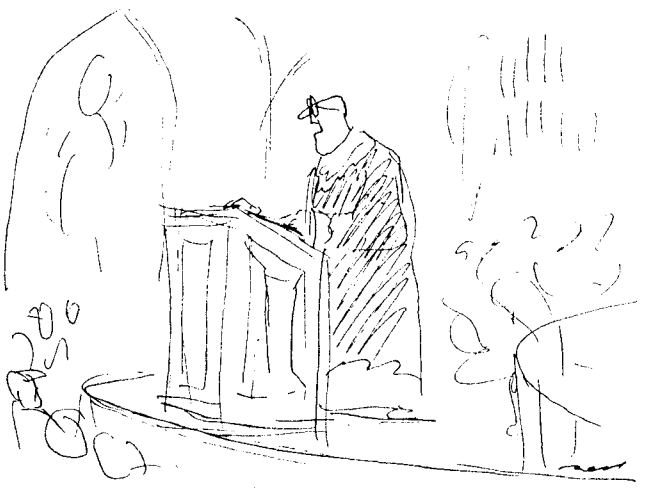
First, let us admit that many criticisms of the church as economic agent, both from within and without, are based on ignorance of the facts. Most people do not realize that the church has no unified financial structure within the United States — that each diocese is independent — and that many Catholic institutions which are not diocesan — hospitals, colleges, and universities, for example — have independent financial structures. Even when all the components of Catholic church wealth are put together, the church has far less wealth under its control and disposal than its foes and critics ascribe to it. In this country a number of dioceses are still "mission territory," depending on alms from outside for survival. Nevertheless, the church controls significant wealth, and in its role as economic agent it affects the lives and well-being of many people.

Example can be the strongest form both of leadership and moral persuasion. An analysis of the weaknesses and defects of the church as an economic agent in American life and step by step proposals for the elimination of injustice and irresponsibility in its practices in the future would do a great deal to undergird and strengthen the appeal to the wider community. Change cannot be divorced from historical context. If it is, new injustices may result from efforts to remedy the old. If expanding this section of the draft sufficiently enough to make it a practical set of guidelines would overweight the document, then perhaps it should be done as an accompanying paper.

Is it enough to say at this juncture that "we would be foolish were we to deny this need for renewal in the economic life of the church itself" when in the same document it is noted simply by the citation of date that the call to "undertake an examination of the modes of acting and of the possessions and life-style found within the church herself" was issued more than a decade ago? It is also more than a decade, and well into a second one, since the quoted 1971 Synod made the following statement: *"No one should be deprived of his ordinary rights because he is associated with the church in one way or another. Those who serve the church by their labor, including priests and religious, should receive a sufficient livelihood and enjoy that social security which is customary in their region. Lay people should be given fair wages and a system of promotion. We reiterate the recommendations that lay people should exercise more important functions with regard to church property and should share in its administration."*

Hearings and documentation on the sins of omission and commission in relation to the tenets listed above would be illuminating for young clergy and religious athirst with the desire for social justice as well as for those who have come to realize that charity rests on justice, that injustice is yours if it is the injustice of the institution of which you are a part. (Never mind that it might evoke a flood of old and present horror stories from callously exploited religious and clergy, and from devoted laity who have served the church in poverty and insecurity with no prospect of tenure, rank, health, or retirement pay.) It would be "the path of penance and renewal." The Catholic church in America has made progress as a moral economic agent — often under the pressure of government, unions, and grantors — often in the persons of visionary religious and a few far-sighted bishops — but the progress is not the progress of the whole community and its practices are not always sound or wise. Now is the time for a total effort and a comprehensive plan.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY



". . . representing an 82 percent increase in net sin over the same period last year."

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U.S. policy for a Middle East in motion

J. Bryan Hehir

THE MIDDLE EAST was not a significant factor in the 1984 election, and it remained insignificant in the policy perspective of the Reagan administration at the outset of 1985. But the lack of interest in Washington does not mean that other actors in the Middle East believe that the United States can remain a spectator. The most recent issue of *Foreign Policy* carried two "memoranda" to the President written by Abba Eban of Israel and Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan. Eban made the case against American passivity: "An atmosphere of fatalism and apathy surrounds the Arab-Israeli conflict. . . . American passivity would condemn the Middle East to a volcanic status quo leading to a possible explosion. There is no alternative to the United States as an agent of reconciliation in the region."

There is an understandable reticence in Washington to putting the Middle East anywhere near the center on the U.S. policy agenda. The 1982 Reagan Plan was abandoned by Israel and the key Arab actors before it was given a chance. America suffered the loss of lives and of face in Lebanon. This double experience provides solid reasons for extreme caution. The picture shaping up in 1985, therefore, is that of the United States being pushed and pulled into a Middle East role for which, at the policy level, it has little inclination and less preparation. Both the history of the Middle East conflict and the nature of U.S. interests there guarantee that this country will be a player in the process — ready or not. Presuming this is so, three questions confront the Reagan administration.

The first is: which policy vision will guide American actions? In a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., one of the most experienced U.S. diplomats in the Middle East, argued that U.S. policy over the last four decades had vacillated between a geopolitical view, which saw the Middle East as an appendage of the U.S.-Soviet competition, and an alternative view, which stressed the regional roots of the problem as the principal guide to U.S. policy. The early Reagan policy tilted decidedly toward the geopolitical perspective, encouraging Arab states (with very different policies) to form a "strategic consensus" against Soviet penetration of the region. When it became clear that most of the candidates for the consensus did not see the Soviets as their primary problem, there was a gradual refocusing of U.S. policy which finally produced the more regionally sensitive Reagan proposal of September 1982. That 1982 speech was a solid, well designed initiative—arguably the best foreign policy speech of the first Reagan term. The keys to implementation were the Israelis and the Jordanians; unfortunately, neither was ready to move.

Since 1982 all of the major actors in the region *have* moved. The results do not simplify the dynamics of the region, but they do open possibilities not present in 1982. The Begin government is gone, replaced by a fragile but somewhat more flexible coalition headed by Shimon Peres. The Jordanians have launched their own initiative, with King Hussein first rendering a scathing critique of U.S. policy, then moving to reestablish diplomatic relations with Egypt and also reconstituting conversations with Mr. Arafat. These moves were made in the face of Syrian opposition; the logic of a Jordanian-Egyptian-PLO alliance frustrates Syrian pretensions to leadership in the Arab world. President Assad, justifiably convinced of his diplomatic coup in standing down American power in Lebanon, is not prepared to be relegated to a secondary position in Arab politics or Middle East diplomacy. The outcome of the Jordanian initiative, in the words of the impressive journal, *The Middle East International*, is, "The division of the Arab world is now more advanced than at any time since the 1960s." At the center of this division is the split in the PLO between an Arafat faction and a rival group sponsored by Syria.

None of this argues for simply resurrecting the Reagan proposal of 1982, but redesigning it in light of new conditions would not be a bad start. What would decidedly be a bad start would be a return to the geopolitical focus of the early 1980s. This cautionary note raises the second policy question: how is the superpower relationship understood in its connection to the Middle East? The possible options are evident in past policies. They run from the view that produced the "strategic consensus" proposal to the condominium concept reflected in the 1973 Geneva Conference and in the joint statement of principles on the Middle East worked out by the United States and the Soviet Union in the Carter administration. The strategic consensus did not sell in the Middle East and the condominium idea did not sell in the United States.

What is possible in the mid-eighties? Clearly the Soviets cannot be excluded from any long-term approach to a settlement in the Middle East. Both their global interests and their ties to key actors in the region preclude isolation of the Soviets. There are solid policy reasons for including them early in a limited way in any policy initiative, but it may not be either politically possible or attractive to key Reagan policymakers to do so. Just before the Inauguration the administration announced forthcoming meetings with the Soviets on the Middle East. The likely outcome will be a sharing of views after a long hiatus in such conversations. Any seri-

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Authentically black, truly Catholic

EDWARD K. BRAXTON

"CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING and the U.S. Economy," the first draft of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter, was released on November 11, just two months after the publication of "What We Have Seen and Heard: A Pastoral Letter on Evangelization from the Black Bishops of the United States." Both documents call our attention directly or indirectly to the plight of black Americans, and in particular to the experience of black Catholics.

The pastoral on the economy states its basic concern in the form of a question: "Will this decision or policy help the poor and deprived members of the human community, enabling them to become more active participants in economic life?" It is not possible to speak of the poor and deprived in this country without thinking of the majority of black Americans. When the letter asks who are the unemployed, it answers. "They are disproportionately black. . . ." The pastoral goes on to say: "Long-term poverty is . . . concentrated among black Americans, and especially among families headed by black women. Black people make up about 12 percent of the entire population but 62 percent of the persistently poor."

Though many black Catholics are a part of the middle class, many can also be found in these discouraging statistics. Most black Catholic parishes are located in the inner cities of major metropolitan areas such as Washington, D.C., Detroit, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Newark, Cleveland, and Boston. Some black Catholics probably agree with the views of columnist Carl T. Rowan that by withholding the publication of the economics pastoral letter until after the presidential election, the long-term and short-term impact of the document was significantly decreased. In Rowan's judgment it seems unlikely that those who have been elected are about to be moved by appeals for compassion and generosity on behalf of poor Americans — black, white, or brown. As one black Catholic layman put it: "Before the election the message of the church seemed to be 'Vote for Reagan and end abortion.' Now the letter on the economy seems to say 'Vote for Mondale and help the poor!' But it is too late." Yet black Catholics cannot help but note with appreciation that if the "Policy Applications" of the document were even partially adopted, black Americans would be among the key beneficiaries.

"What We Have Seen and Heard" builds on Pope Paul VI's *Evangelii Nuntiandi* and the 1979 U.S. bishops' pastoral "Brothers and Sisters to Us" which condemned racism in the world and the church as a sin and heresy. "What We Have Seen and Heard" invites black Catholics to meditate upon and appropriate the richness of their historical experience and spiritual heritage. It challenges religious and laity alike to take up their responsibility as active evangelists in Christ's church.

Black Catholics must not keep to themselves what they have seen and heard. They must share the gifts of black cultural values, the holistic Afro-American view of reality, the abiding presence of joy and hope even in the face of suffering, and the strengths and blessings of the black family. Black Catholics are reminded of the pivotal role that they could play in ecumenical relations with the larger black Christian community.

Black Catholics are urged to take creative initiatives in preaching the Gospel and working for more vocations to the priesthood, diaconate, and religious life. The letter places special emphasis upon the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, Catholic education, and the liturgy adapted to the black experience as important for future black Catholics. In all of their efforts black Catholics are called to be authentically black, truly Catholic. But to implement "What We Have Seen and Heard" as well as to contribute significantly to the formulation and application of the final draft of the economics pastoral will not be easy.

There are nearly 30 million black Americans. With the exception of Nigeria, there are more black people in America than in any country in the world. Only 1.2 million of these, however, are Catholic. The majority of black Americans are

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Protestant, mainly Baptist. Many millions are unchurched, and a surprisingly large number are turning to Islam and other non-Christian religions.

In spite of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, black Americans continue to be the object of blatant racism and economic, social, and political discrimination that, in some places, is as systematic as the apartheid of South Africa. Many believe that the present policies of the United States government are systematically overturning the social programs of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and rejecting the moral vision of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. When South African Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, he said that the American government considers black people to be expendable in South Africa as well as in America. There are certainly black Americans who agree with Tutu's judgment.

Many black Americans are at the point of desperation and are searching for spiritual guidance. The Roman Catholic church is in a position to have a profound impact upon the black community in the United States in the next twenty years. But this will require systematic efforts to eradicate racism at every level of the church. This means that the church must deepen its appreciation of the social implications of the mystery of the Incarnation. Every human person, no matter what her or his race or status, is equal before Jesus Christ. A church that truly believes this will work to enable black Catholic sisters, bishops, deacons, priests, and laypeople to contribute to the life of the church at every level. But if black Catholics are to contribute significantly to the impact of the church upon the larger black community, it must not be assumed that this will be primarily through religious and clergy. While black clergy and religious have played and continue to play a crucial role in the life of black Catholics, the history of black Catholics in this country places a special responsibility on the shoulders of the laity.

BLACK PEOPLE in the United States have been subjected to many traumatic experiences involving abrupt social and cultural changes. The first occurred when Africans were captured and sold into slavery and transported thousands of miles to a new land, a new language, and a radically different way of life. Another important experience was the change from slavery to freedom. After approximately 250 years of bondage, the legal condition of Africans in America was changed. But the former slaves were not given "forty acres and a mule," and they were not given sufficient support in the art of surviving in their new, unprotected condition. A third experience was the mass movement of black people out of the South to the North, beginning during World War I, accelerating during the interwar period, and reaching its peak during and after World War II. Black Americans left the agrarian, personal, informal, slower-paced society of rural Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama for the elevated trains of Chicago and the subways of New York.

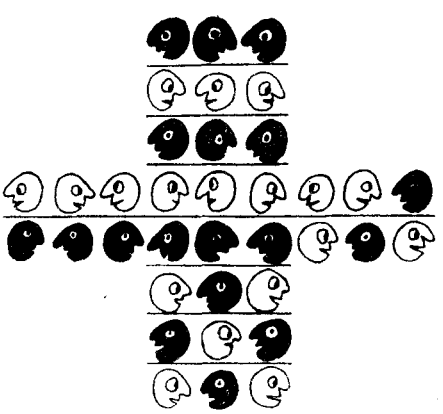
The black preacher linked together these otherwise broken experiences. For a people who had had their lives and their cultures shattered, fragmented, and torn asunder so often and so abruptly, this linkage figure was very important. By their mere presence and continued leadership, black preachers offered a steady figure with which the people could identity. The role of the black preacher was not unlike that of the Irish, Italian, Polish, or German priest serving the impoverished Catholic immigrants from Europe.

The priest does not have the same impact in the black community, for many reasons. The most obvious is that most priests who served the black community were not from the black community. The lack of a large number of black priests and religious has been a long-standing challenge in the history of black Catholics in America. In 1916 Thomas Turner, a black Catholic layman, aware of the impact of black clergy in black Protestant churches, labored long and hard to foster an indigenous Afro-American clergy. But he faced insurmountable odds. At the time most Catholic seminaries did not accept black candidates. He wrote to bishops and seminary rectors, but usually his overtures were ignored or termed imprudent.

The fact that Turner did not succeed in opening the doors of more seminaries is a central reason why black Catholics today do not have large numbers of black priests to serve them the way that black preachers serve in the Protestant traditions. It is significant that the African Methodist Episcopal Church which has fewer members than our 1.2 million black Catholics has over 4,000 ordained clergy in comparison to our 350 black priests.

Today there is probably no bishop and no seminary that would not welcome black candidates. The Black Clergy Caucus and the Black Seminarians' Caucus sponsor special programs of support and formation for black seminarians. But the number of black Catholic men entering the seminary each year is too small for us to envision an indigenous black clergy in the near future. The same is true of black brothers.

Many reasons can be given. Among them: the church's middle-class cultural and educational presuppositions; the fear that celibacy will impede the needed growth of the black community; and the ambiguity of the priesthood as a vocation in a time of change and development. But whatever the reasons for the lack of vocations, we cannot prudently plan for the future of the church on the assumption that somehow the trend will change and we will be blessed by a great influx of black



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candidates into our seminaries. For the foreseeable future the majority of clergy and religious serving black Catholics will continue to be white as they are today. But this need not mean that there will be no further increase in black leadership. The emergence of the Permanent Diaconate is of particular importance. The growing number of black married deacons may be a providential development for leadership in the church. Black Catholic laymen are able and willing to lead. They need only the help, encouragement, and acceptance of white and black clergy.

There are approximately 850 black religious women in America. This constitutes less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the total number of religious women in the U.S. The majority of black sisters are in the historic all-black orders: the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the Sisters of the Holy Family, and the Handmaids of the Most Pure Heart of Mary. These sisters are primarily in educational ministries. They are women of deep faith and traditional Catholic values. But their average age is approximately fifty, and they are not attracting many new postulants.

The large, traditionally white orders of religious women did not begin to accept black applicants until the 1960s. It was at this time, however, that so much change, tension, and controversy began to emerge in American convents in general. This was the beginning of the discussion of the role of religious women in the church. Amidst all the tensions, many religious women left the convent and fewer came to consider the religious life. Unfortunately, this remains true today for white and black women.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, the Adrian Dominican Sisters, and the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur began to accept a few black applicants in 1959 and 1960. Some of these sisters have prospered and become very happy, dedicated women religious. Others felt estranged and unwelcomed. They soon departed. In spite of all these obstacles there is a small group of well-educated black religious (with Ph.D's in theology and other disciplines) who are making important contributions to the life of the church in the black community and to the larger church as well. There are also a few black women in contemplative orders. There are many talented black Catholic laywomen as well, more than able to contribute to black Catholic leadership.

If the pastorals on the economy and "What We Have Seen and Heard" are to take root in the black community, the inevitable emergence of lay leadership must not be merely accepted; it must be enthusiastically welcomed and cultivated. At the same time there must be a renewed emphasis on evangelization and the seeking of new converts. Black Catholics must become leaders of a new missionary presence of the Catholic church in the black community.

It is clear, in spite of the dedicated labors of so many white and black priests and religious, and the growth of the black Catholic community against great odds, that when Jesse Jackson speaks of the *black church* and its power and impact he does not mean black Catholics. When we hear that the church is the source of values, culture, community, solidarity, and political influence in the black community, the *Catholic* church is not meant. The opposite is also true. For all the ethnic and cultural pluralism that are the hallmarks of the over 50 million Roman Catholics in America, when there is talk of the Catholic church as an important religious, educational, cultural, and political force in our land, we do not mean *black* Catholics. The estimated 1.2 million black Catholics in this country seem invisible in comparison to the over 50 million white Catholics. Black Catholics are seen as a negligible minority in the larger white Catholic community.

But black Catholics themselves are in a position to change this. Black Catholics live a shadow existence in the larger black community and in the Catholic church. In many cases they have neither known nor appreciated who they are and what they have done. They do not feel their lineage with Jean Baptist Du Sable, a founder of the city of Chicago, Mother Elizabeth Lange, foundress of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, and Henriette Delille, foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Family. The heroic achievements of Father Augustus Tolton, the father of black Catholic priests in America, are all but unheard of. With strong black leadership, black Catholics will come to take pride in these pioneers of the past and labor willingly for a black Catholic future in America.

IN THE UNITED STATES the conversion and evangelization of new black Catholics has, until recently, been directly tied to the ministry of education. During the 1940s and 50s many black people who had migrated from the South to the great northern cities were attracted to Catholic schools famous for their discipline and value formation. This provided a natural opportunity for inviting these parents and their children to join the Catholic faith. Special convert classes were developed by almost every urban parish with a significant black population. White priests and sisters seemed to be very knowledgeable of their Catholic faith and proud to be Catholics. They generously passed this enthusiasm on to their new black converts. The new Catholics in turn took great satisfaction in their Catholic identity. They felt that they were a part of something very special. They eagerly learned Catholic practices and traditions.

During this period convert-making and education were linked together, and the church was equally proud of both activities. Then came the radical changes of the 1960s: Vatican Council II, the Civil Rights Movement, the white flight from the cities, the emergence of black consciousness, theological and liturgical pluralism; the rites of adult Christian initiation, the breakdown of familiar Catholic structures, the increased impact of the mass media, the decline of many urban public schools; the widespread criticism of the Catholic church by Catholics, the exodus of priests and sisters from the ministry, the disillusionment of many of those who remained, and the development of the ecumenical movement which made Catholics more appreciative of the value of other Christian traditions, and which indirectly tempered the earlier enthusiasm for active, even aggressive convert-seeking.

One of the consequences of this tumultuous period of transi-

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tion was that by the 1970s and 80s the link between convert classes and general education was undone. More and more the church began to look at its schools in black communities as a service to those in need, since the public schools in the areas were often so inadequate. This service of education came to be seen more as a witness to the Gospel ethic of charity and neighborly concern than a way of bringing people into the Catholic church. Convert classes became smaller or nonexistent, and it seemed to be understood that neither black students in the parochial schools nor their parents were likely to become Catholics. In many cities in this country the style of Catholic presence in the black community gradually changed to one exclusively devoted to education and social services, while the traditional black Protestant churches and the fast-growing black Muslims met the religious needs of the community.

If the Catholic church is to have a future in the black community in America, conversion and education need to be united again in a radical new way. Perhaps the focus of educational efforts must not be so much on children as on adults. Adult Catholics who know and love the church can bring many others to the faith. Who can better reach the heart of a black housewife looking for meaning and direction than another black woman who feels she has found that direction in the church? Who can better challenge the black laborer or businessperson who is being irresponsible than another black who has found responsibility in the Gospel? Who can better convince black teenagers of the importance of developing to their full potential, of sexual responsibility and family loyalty than other black teenagers who esteem these values in the church? Who can better explain the differences in Catholic and Protestant beliefs and practices to a black Protestant than a black Catholic who was once a Protestant? No one.

In the same way we need the sincere efforts of black laity if we are to resolve the conflicts and confusion surrounding the nature, purpose, authority, and accountability of the National Office for Black Catholics in Washington, D.C. If certain very real problems can be solved, this office could join with the Black Clergy Caucus, the Black Sisters' Conference, and the Black Seminarians' Caucus to provide invaluable help for coordinating efforts to develop practical programs that will give flesh to the ideals put forth in the two historic pastoral letters.

Local diocesan offices for black Catholics must be funded and staffed in such a way that they will have the resources needed to accomplish their goals. Among these goals should be the insistence that qualified black Catholic lay people be considered for responsible positions in the local church that are not directly related to black Catholic affairs. Only in this way will the often ignored talents of black Catholics begin to have an impact upon a whole diocese. What can be said about a diocese that publishes the pastoral on the economy which laments the high unemployment rates for black men and women when their own hiring policies contribute to those statistics? The Catholic church, as a major "corporation" in this country, must be the first to model the compassionate ideals of the economic pastoral if it expects its teachings to be taken seriously.

There is a very real need to turn our attention to extensive programs in black Catholic adult education and formation. We should steep our people in the best of the Catholic tradition by using the Xavier Institute for Black Catholic Studies in Louisiana and similar resources which would allow parishes without black priests, deacons, or sisters to hire full-time and part-time qualified black Catholic staff persons. Such training programs could be used to develop husband-wife teams, teams of college students, and teenagers who could share their faith with knowledge and confidence. Such programs should study in depth the pastoral on the economy and "What We Have Seen and Heard," applying them to the concrete issues addressed by these pastoral letters.

A creative use of the media is also essential for the future of the Catholic church in the black community. The church would do well to explore popular black radio stations around the country. Is it feasible to produce brief educational announcements that would inform black Catholics and other black Americans of the central themes in the two recently published pastorals and advise them of local resources for applying them in their neighborhoods? After all, many Americans, especially the poor, do not read newspapers and magazines; they do listen to the radio.

Some may feel uncomfortable about the quality of certain popular black TV and radio evangelists. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that we must find imaginative uses for television, radio, magazines, and newspapers if black Catholics are to become visible and reach many black Americans who would be well disposed to a Catholic church which is providing a voice to the voiceless. In spite of the costs and difficulties faced by the National Office for Black Catholics, its journal *Impact* and the secular black paper *The National Leader*, have both made it clear that there is a definite need for some form of national black Catholic journal. Such papers convey not only information but create networks, points of linkage for people from California to Washington, D.C. Black Catholics need to feel their unity with one another and share in the joys and sorrows of other black Catholics wherever they may be.

"What We Have Seen and Heard" and the final draft of "Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy" have the potential for a significant impact on black Catholics and the larger black community in America. But, they could just as easily end up as two further contributions to the paper deluge. If all they are to produce is heated exchanges in think tanks, erudite letters to the editors in sophisticated news journals, and poignant photo essays in human interest picture magazines, we can be sure that ten years from now the plight of black Americans in the economic order and the plight of black Catholics in the church will be no better than it is today. Indeed, it will be worse.

This is not the time for black Americans or black Catholics to be passive. This is not the time to stand with open hands waiting for the nation to provide employment and economic justice, or waiting for the Catholic church to prove its catho-

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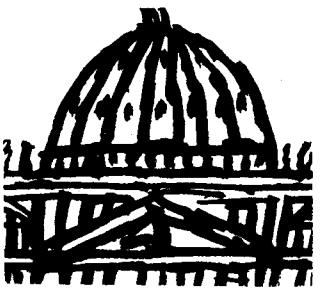
licity. This is the time for black Catholics to be active, aggressive, and informed. This is a time for black Catholics who are trained in business, economics, law, and public policy to illuminate their knowledge with the light of the Catholic faith and come forward as responsible agents of economic development.

This is also the time for the clergy and religious, white and black, who serve black Catholic communities to do all they can to enable black Catholics to become missionaries to themselves. This is the time to encourage young black Catholics to develop competencies and skills in those areas of public and economic life in America that lack a strong black presence. There is much that this country and the Catholic church can and should do that would enhance the lives of black Americans. But there may be much more that black Catholics can and should do to enhance the country and the church.

THE CHALLENGE REMAINS: LIBERATION THEOLOGY '85—I



Ratzinger, Gutierrez, & the bishops of Peru

CHRISTINE E. GUDORF

THE LONG investigation of liberation theology in the person of priest-theologian Gustavo Gutierrez of Peru has come to an end in a way few observers expected. The bishops of Peru completed a document in October, released in November, which treats liberation theology without censuring any part or any theologian, while claiming credit for it as a Peruvian gift to Latin America.

Why is this so unexpected? It was a surprise because only one-third of the bishops supported Gutierrez and liberation theology throughout the many stages of the investigation into the orthodoxy of Gutierrez's writings on liberation theology. The investigation process had begun in February 1983 with a series of very critical "observations" about Gutierrez's writings, observations sent by the Vatican to the Peruvian bishops' conference along with a request for consideration and decision. These investigations were not expeditiously resolved because the bishops were divided: approximately one-third were supporters, one-third were opponents, and one-third did not want to commit themselves to either side. This last group wavered, tending to join the supporters to defeat motions to condemn, and to join the opponents to defeat motions to acquit.

In summer 1984 what had looked like the end of the investigation process — the composition of two documents: a majority report of censure and a minority report defending Gutierrez — was aborted by order of Cardinal Ratzinger, the head of the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, who had ordered the investigation. Rumor in the Peruvian church has it that Ratzinger sent word that the local church was not capable of handling this matter. Insiders close to the liberationist bishops' camp reported that after the theological criticism Ratzinger received for his own recent writings on liberation theology, he was reluctant to have the faction he supported, opponents of liberation theology, produce what looked to be a theologically weak document which would suffer by comparison with the minority report, on which some first-rate theologians, including Gutierrez himself, had collaborated. Cardinal Ratzinger apparently had hoped for a single unequivocal stance from the bishops which would not only discredit liberation theology in Peru but damage it throughout Latin America.

Ratzinger's next move after aborting the local investigation was to have all fifty-two bishops of Peru summoned to Rome for two weeks in September. Forty-five were able to attend; the very unusual presence of a nearly complete national bishops' conference in Rome was unsuccessfully explained to the press as a matter of coincidence. For two weeks, the bishops met with Ratzinger and also with John Paul II in groups, and occasionally individually. The pressure from Ratzinger was strongly in favor of a single document censuring Gutierrez. John Paul was reportedly more difficult to read; his comments to groups of bishops indicated he had read some of Gutierrez's work and did not share all of Ratzinger's views.

So how did it happen that the bishops went back to Peru and wrote a single document which failed to censure either Gutierrez or liberation theology? Rumor has it that Rome overplayed its hand. Ratzinger failed to recognize the concern that even the more conservative bishops have for the very real oppression their people suffer — a concern that supporters of liberation theology make central to their lives and their faith. Furthermore, Rome did not acknowledge the overwhelming support for Gutierrez that the bishops received in letters from other bishops and theologians of international repute and from public figures in Peru. Prior to that, many of the Peruvian bishops

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had simply not realized that Gutierrez commanded such respect as a theologian. Last — but not negligible — was the national pride that the bishops came to feel for liberation theology as a product of Peruvian life and faith, and for Gutierrez as a Peruvian theologian. My own suspicion is that the decades of respect for and solidarity with the bishops that liberationists have demonstrated — a respect and solidarity which amazes and intrigues Americans and Europeans — evoked from the bishops a similar respect and a desire to accept responsibility for the liberation movement as a legitimate expression of Christian faith and of the church in Peru.

The accuracy of these speculations is open to debate. Few of the principals are speaking publicly. Gutierrez, when asked to explain the unexpected result, responded: "You mean why, besides the work of the Spirit?" Surely it must feel like the work of the Spirit for Gutierrez after having lived for almost two years on the edge of an international controversy which threatened a life's work of commitment to the liberation of the poor and to the formation of liberation theology. Perhaps even more disturbing had been the threat to the work of thousands of church leaders — bishops, priests, religious, and laypeople — who have drawn a great deal of their spiritual sustenance from Gutierrez's annunciation of the Good News in the context of human oppression.

It is certain that controversy will continue to surround both liberation theology and Gutierrez. This is only the end of an act, not the end of the drama. But the drama has been irrevocably changed by the events of this act. The Peruvian bishops held out in face of strong Vatican pressure, held out for a local decision. How the Peruvian bishops will deal with the very real issues that confront them — ever greater social misery, worsening social violence, political repression, continuing polarization of conservative and liberation forces within the church in response to the social situation — remains to be seen. They are not in agreement about the use of Marxist social analysis. They are concerned that the church's action on the social scene be a force for peaceful, constructive change without exacerbating tensions that could lead to greater violence and injustice.

The third section of the bishops' document, "The Necessity of Discernment," deals with "basic criteria" to be used in discerning action within commitment to the project of liberation. Those criteria emerge from a critical discussion of Marxist concepts within the general themes of history and society, praxis and truth, and the kingdom of God and human action. While the bishops acknowledge that Ratzinger's "Instructions on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation" treats these same themes, they do not indicate the radical differences in treatment between their document and Ratzinger's. The major difference is that the positions the bishops find objectionable — which are largely the same ones Ratzinger found — are not presented as reflective of liberation theology. Nor are these objections assumed to cover all contemporary Marxists. Rather they are currents in historical Marxist thought which the bishops, in their role as teachers, point out are to be avoided by those persons committed to liberation of the poor because they are incompatible with Christian faith. While it is doubtful that some of these points are treated in the same way liberation theologians would treat them (especially the separation of spiritual and material), the bishops come closer than Ratzinger to presenting the real issues in the debate over Marxism within liberation theology. The bishops better realize both the variations within liberation theology on the issue of Marxism, and the nuanced approach most often taken by liberation theologians.

The February visit of John Paul II to Peru will constitute yet another act in the contemporary drama of the Peruvian church. John Paul has not to this point taken a consistent position on liberation theology as it exists in the Latin American church. He has expressed support for the Christian preferential option for the poor and for the organization of the poor, but rejection of Marxist social analysis, of the blurring of distinctions between clergy and laity, and of clergy participating in political activity — which in Latin America can include any attempt to improve the condition of the poor through organization. Will John Paul respect the decision of the Peruvian bishops? Does he recognize the consequences a judgment of his on liberation theology — in either direction — may have for the local church and for the Peruvian socio-political reality? These are burning questions in a nation where the division among bishops merely mirrors the unstable political and economic situation.

IN PERU "without doubt the situations of injustice and of acute poverty are an accusing finger at faith for not having had the necessary strength to penetrate the criteria and decisions of the sectors responsible for ideological leadership and for the organization of the social and economic aspects of the lives of our people.

"All this constitutes a serious challenge to the evangelizing work of the church. In effect, the ecclesial community has as a specific mission announcing the Good News of the Redemption in each place and historical moment. This assumes that it ought to be attentive to the signs of the times and that it knows to gather, in the name of the Lord who died and rose, the afflicted of all humanity, above all the most undervalued and oppressed, and that it feels as one with their justified eagerness for liberation.

"Our church has responded to the renewing impulse of Vatican II, of Medellin and Puebla, feeling the necessity to accompany walking in faith alongside our committed faithful people. They have as their beginning the intentions to reflect, in the light of the Word of God and of the magisterium, on the significance of so many efforts — with their successes and obstacles. One of these efforts, undoubtedly significant in the progress of our church, is what is called 'Theology of Liberation,' which, born on our soil, has been diffused and rooted in our sibling peoples."

Selections from the Peruvian bishops' document

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Yet the controversy over liberation theology in Peru has important implications beyond the future of liberation theology in the church, and beyond the church in Peru. If our church is to be truly universal, if the Gospel is to be fully enculturated in each region and nation, if the church is to truly become the People of God rather than an institutional structure, then the relationship between Vatican and bishops, the responsibility of bishops for the local church, the role of theologians in the church, and the ability of the laity to participate fully in the definition of what faith is in the midst of real human life must all be painstakingly worked out. This cannot be done without conflict, but perhaps the Spirit is telling us from Peru that it can be done with some degree of humility, compassion, and respect. Moreover, it must be done if the church is to have a meaningful role in the social task of transforming the world in the direction of the Kingdom of God.

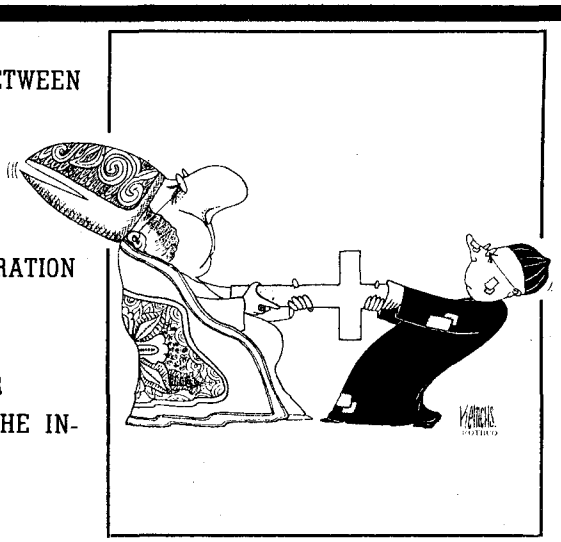
THE CHALLENGE REMAINS: LIBERATION THEOLOGY '85—II

Reenvisioning church

SALVATION AND LIBERATION
IN SEARCH OF A BALANCE BETWEEN FAITH AND POLITICS
Leonardo Boff and Clovis Boff
Orbis, $6.95, 119 pp.

THE LORD'S PRAYER
THE PRAYER OF INTEGRAL LIBERATION
Leonardo Boff
Orbis, $6.95, 140 pp.

CHURCH: CHARISM AND POWER
LIBERATION THEOLOGY AND THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH
Leonardo Boff
Crossroad, $14.95, 192 pp.



Francis Schüssler Fiorenza

LEONARDO BOFF has had the reputation of being the most productive and scholarly of the liberation theologians. The publicity surrounding the Holy Office's interrogation of his orthodoxy has now made him one of the most controversial. Of the three volumes *Church: Charism and Power* is by far the most significant and breaks new ground, whereas the first two volumes develop familiar themes.

Salvation and Liberation provides in three short essays a brief but one of the best introductions to liberation theology. The first essay outlines the basics of liberation theology, its starting-point and method. The second sketches the relationship between integral liberation and partial liberations by outlining four models of the relation between salvation in Jesus and historical, social, and political liberations: Chalcedonian, sacramental, agapic, and anthropological. Each of these models demonstrates an "*identification* without total identity." The concluding essay by Clovis Boff, Leonardo's brother, written in the form of a dialogue between a priest, a theologian, and an activist clarifies issues of liberation theology. Whereas Leonardo emphasizes that the integration between salvation and liberation does not entail a simple identity, Clovis criticizes previous liberation theologians for distinguishing the various levels that distort the total integration between liberation and salvation.

In *The Lord's Prayer* Boff offers a verse by verse commentary that illustrates the contrast between Christian spirituality and any combination of reductive Marxist and psychoanalytic analyses. The Fatherhood of God is not a projection compensating for infantile

(Continued on page 81)

THE TRUE CHURCH AND THE POOR
Jon Sobrino
Orbis Books, $13.95, 374pp.

Leo J. O'Donovan

"IN RECENT years," Jon Sobrino reminds us in his latest book, "Christ has appeared again in Latin America." Not the Christ of pilgrim shrines or special devotions, but Christ in the faces of ill-fed children unemployed youth, ostracized indigenous peoples, exploited and landless peasants, defenseless laborers, the stricken ones of city slums, the "useless" elderly. At Medelin in 1968 and then again at Puebla in 1979 these faces had been recognized in an official way, while theologians calling for genuine liberation of God's people have grieved for them before and since. Sobrino brings before us once more the reality of our southern neighbors that we can still barely acknowledge. For his passionate and eloquent testimony we must be deeply grateful.

Time and place are of paramount importance for understanding this book. Written first as a series of essays between 1975 and 1980, it offers not a full ecclesiology but a theological reflection on the basis of the church, an assessment of that foundational experience from which a renewed vision, indeed even a "resurrection," of the church and its mission in Latin America can be now hoped for. Though Sobrino will appreciate being read in the power centers of the world, he writes from and for the

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people of his adopted land, appropriating as a theologian the option for the poor which is "an unconditional affirmation of life and an unconditional rejection of injustice." Though the public policy and social theory of the first (and second) world profoundly affect the fate of the Latin peoples, he addresses not the former but the latter, not the world powers at a geographical distance but the inequities of power close at hand. Here and now, the author maintains, the church of Christ, his body, can only be true to itself as God's people and the temple of the Spirit if it is formed on the basis of the poor and finds in them the principle of its structure, organization, and mission. Sobrino writes for a very particular historical location. In the context of massive economic inequity and appalling abuse of privilege, he calls the church to remain faithful to its biblical partiality for the poor, indeed to risk its life on their behalf. This does not mean simply a democratic concern *for* the poor as a segment of God's people. That universalist approach freezes the ecclesiological accomplishment of Vatican II. Rather, the Council's new grasp of the church as mystery must be carried forward in the Latin American context by a radical self-emptying, by identification with those who have hoped against hope because the Lord alone is their security. The mission of Christ is continued most visibly in an impoverished community which believes with its life in his proclamation of the reign of God. With a view to both personal morality and institutional change, Sobrino urges that "the mission of the church of the poor consists in bringing to pass what is proclaimed, in making the good news become a good reality."

Sobrino's emphasis on the role of Christian struggle for a just society is of course central to understanding where Christ's church arises and what it lives for. To this point he quotes one of the finest statements of the Thirty-Second General Congregation of the Society of Jesus: "Thus the way to faith and the way to justice are inseparable ways. It is up this undivided road, this steep road, that the pilgrim church must travel and toil." But the author knows well the charges sometimes made against Jesuits and more often still against theologians of liberation that they take a purely sociological approach to Christian life and are guilty of reducing it to horizontal relations.

To such misunderstanding of intent, readers can find ample answer in Chapter Five, which was originally written in honor of Karl Rahner's seventy-fifth birthday and shows Sobrino's fundamental indebtedness to Rahner's conception of the loving mystery of an ever greater God. In various other passages he speaks of the Spirit of Jesus re-creating the church in time as a real bodily anticipation of human life fulfilled in eternity. The Christ of this book, furthermore, as in *Christology at the Crossroads*, is a fellow human being whose prophetic ministry leads to the paschal mystery because of which we confess him as God's own unvanquishable Word for us. The center of the author's thought, in other words, is indisputably theological, as the Gregorian University's Juan Alfaro has already shown with regard to his second volume in christology. *(Theology Digest* will soon publish an English version of Alfaro's essay, which first appeared in *Estudios eclesiasticos.)*

Methodologically, Sobrino's theology may best be described as dialectical. The term occurs in many contexts (although absent from an otherwise useful index) and basically denotes the author's approach to a historical process in which conflict and negativity are always present. Reminding us of the strains and breaks inherent in living history, Sobrino's dialectic applies to various dimensions of graced reality, among them the prophetic denunciation of sin, the scandal of the cross, fullness of grace in experiences of poverty, God's liberating presence. Sobrino's dialectic is thus one of responsible practice; it is a theoretical way of understanding the unity of transcendence and history — which he does nevertheless consider, and correctly in my view, as "the most revolutionary theme in contemporary theology."

This dialectical view consistently counters an abstract universalism which reads the church's context and mission only from the higher viewpoint of preordained harmony. Entering into the misery of the poor, it is guided by them to reconceive sin as what puts God's people to death and grace as what frees people for life together before God. Put in christological terms, such a view encourages us to walk the way of Jesus, so that he may become not only the primary content but also the structural model for our faith. As far as I can see, Sobrino's dialectic cannot be said to fall in any way under the strictures of the recent instruction on the theology of liberation from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. In no way does he endorse class struggle as a deterministic law of universal history conceived in purely economic terms. He does not subordinate personal dignity to social progress nor the truth of Scripture to its contemporary social relevance. Although his circumstances require that he deal seriously with conflict in society and also in the church, he never proposes "systematic recourse to violence" or any concept of permanent revolution. In short, Sobrino's dialectical view of the kingdom of God proclaimed and inaugurated in history cannot be identified with any strictly philosophical system, Marxist, neo-Marxist, or otherwise.

Valid and moving though the book is, it nevertheless has its deficiencies. Apart from stylistic shortcomings such as the inevitable repetitions in a collection of essays, there are certain interpretations of Scripture which are insufficiently critical: too much is read into the psychology of Jesus, too little is made of *his* dialectical way of announcing and enacting the reign of God (not "building" it), too easily the early church is imagined as constituted almost entirely of "the poor." Closer to our own day, one misses an analysis of the conditions and

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FRANCIS SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *president-elect of the Catholic Theological Society of America, recently published* Foundational Theology: Jesus and the Church *(Crossroad).*

FATHER LEO J. O'DONOVAN, S.J., *currently on sabbatical at the Woodstock Theological Center in Washington, D.C., is professor of systematic theology at Weston School of Theology in Massachusetts. He is the author of* A World of Grace: An Introduction to the Themes and Foundations of Karl Rahner's Theology *(Seabury).*

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causes of poverty, the extent to which it can be reduced or even eliminated, whether the poor themselves can be expected to be the agents of such social change, what sort of social relations and organizations may be expected to follow and secure the establishment of a more just society. Sobrino's conception of power is unnecessarily negative, and his epistemology of suffering too easily discounts the theoretical moment in human understanding. Finally, and perhaps most important, his contribution to theology of action (or to the relation of theory and practice) is notable more for its sense of urgency and for the various topics to which he sees it relevant than for any systematically developed position.

Still, his readers in North America must remember his context — and their own. As he distinguishes his theology of liberation from its European forebears and passes over our own religious scene in almost complete silence, we may well be reminded of the tasks lying urgently before a public theology in America and the political significance such a theology undoubtedly could have. Distinct from both European and Latin contexts, a public theology in the United States and Canada must mediate between religion and culture in a highly differentiated, religiously pluralistic, and philosophically tolerant society. It must take account of different experiences of the use and abuse of power, its social control, public imagining, and religious usages. Our public theology may see the church(es) as more limited and yet also more effective in their social role. It should bring moral reflection soberly but wisely to bear on our economic responsibilities across a wide range of issues, as the draft pastoral of the American Catholic bishops has begun to do. Above all, it must ask how the kingdom of God is to be sought in America without identifying it with our nation's "manifest destiny," a purely social gospel, or privatized middle-American certitudes of faith. For all these tasks it would be fortunate indeed if it were grounded in the limpid conviction of faith that Jon Sobrino has brought to *The True Church and the Poor*.

Leonardo Boff (cont.)

(Continued from page 79)

helplessness. The sanctification of God's name implies the irreducibility of the human person. Christian spirituality with its belief in God's righteousness and kingdom does not withdraw from social responsibility but makes ethical and social behavior a criterion of Christian existence. Boff interprets eschatology as an "inaugural eschatology" and thereby undercuts the previous interpretations of *The Lord's Prayer* as simply an apocalyptic expectation of the end-time. He stresses that God's reign has begun in Christ, awaits an eschatological completion, but its presence entails a commitment to justice for the poor.

Church: Charism and Power develops as its central thesis that the liberation of the world cannot take place without a prior liberation of the church. The struggle for justice and rights in the world is intertwined with the struggle for justice and rights in the church. North American theologians, especially Richard McBrien, have often objected that liberation theology in its commitment to justice in the world overlooks the need for justice within the church. Taking up this challenge, Boff argues that liberation theology entails the formation of the church in base communities, not simply as a pastoral activity, but as the very function of theology and the center of Christian and Catholic identity. He offers a vision of liberation theology that is at the same time a new vision of the Catholic church.

The preferential option for the poor demands certain shifts within Roman Catholicism. It entails a shift from theology as an exposition of the deposit of the faith to theology as the discernment of the signs of the times, especially the need for justice and the presence of God's Spirit in the church's concern for liberation. It requires a conversion of the institutional church from a reliance on power and coercion to deal with dissent to an openness for free speech. It challenges the church to shake off its characteristics as an upper- and middle-class church and to acquire those characteristics attuned to the poor. It presupposes an equality of persons that does not exclude women from ordination. And it demands an alternative model and structure of the church that overcomes the split between a teaching church and a discerning church. For Boff this alternative model is the church as the sacrament of the Spirit with charisms as its organizing principle.

Throughout *Church: Charism and Power* Boff argues that liberation theology is as much a vision of the church and Catholicism as it is a vision of a new politics. From the perspective of North America and the pluralistic situation in the United States, liberation theology does not reflect sufficiently on the pluralism of the political programs and the option for the poor, and on the need for a political ethics to mediate between Christian faith and political praxis. If one reads Boff for answers to some of these problems, one will be disappointed, for he does not focus upon his choice of political options, but rather upon the necessary changes within the church.

Boff's strength lies in his analysis of traditional theology, especially the origin and nature of the church. His German doctoral dissertation has long been the classic study on the nature of the church as a sacrament. He now develops his ecclesiology from an emphasis on the church as the sacrament of Christ to an emphasis on the church as the sacrament of the Spirit. He builds on the historical consensus worked out by Cardinal Ratzinger and others in regard to the foundation of the church. Since Jesus' mission was primarily to Israel, the foundation of the church takes place only after his death and resurrection. The church is a post-Easter creation of the Spirit.

Boff draws out the systematic and practical implications of this position for the nature, formation, and structure of the church. In the contemporary situation the base communities exemplify within the present that structure of the formation of the church under the influence of God's Spirit. Such a vision of the church leads to the present theological controversy surrounding Boff's work. Re-

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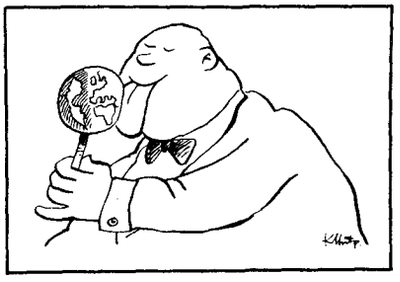
ferring to the "good example that base communities give," Cardinal Ratzinger had previously written that "in the present situation it is necessary to form living cells, that consciously step out of the compulsion of the modern milieu and live with one another the alternative of the Gospel." *(Theologische Prinzipienlehre*, 1982, p. 314). He had suggested that it will become evident in such communities that the "Catholic principle does not produce only the hardenedness and anonymity of large organizations, but rather is vivifying." A similar vision of the "Catholic" principle underlies Boff's book. It combines the struggle for justice and liberation with the formation of the church through the democratic freedom and charismatic spirit of base communities. A point of controversy! For despite his praise of base communities, Ratzinger warned in that very same essay (p. 310) against bringing into such communities the culturally conditioned ideas of modern democracy.

Boff's *Church: Charism and Power* is a powerful defense of liberation theology. He admirably demonstrates that the issues of liberation theology are at the center of the church's self-understanding. The controversy is not about one movement within theology but about one's vision of Catholicism.

THE CHALLENGE REMAINS: LIBERATION THEOLOGY '85—III



Between India & New York

SEGUNDO GALILEA

ON A RECENT trip to India I spent a few days in Kondivita village, an ancient and typical rural village of West India, now absorbed by the spreading city. I was the guest of an enchanting and numerous Indian family, who were Christians, and who keep up a great old house built in the last century.

I visited a few neighbors. (In India it is not proper that a guest who is a minister of a religion not make a courtesy visit to the neighboring friends of the family with which he is staying.) The family friends are gracious and hospitable in the same way as the poor people of Latin America. But the poverty in which they live is more startling, not so much in terms of deterioration and misery, as of austerity and nakedness. Their shacks, quite often having only one room, do not have chairs, or high tables, or the electric devices which are common among the poor peoples of the West. It is a poverty of economic scarcity combined with austerity and divestiture. (Later I discovered that in many countries of the East there is almost no importation of mechanical and electrical devices, such as washing machines, so that unemployment, which is already severe, might not increase through the automation of work.) In the meantime they do not seem to need or to miss the household articles which I am accustomed to use.

They sit comfortably on the floor in the Hindu fashion, and this makes chairs unnecessary. They do not use mattresses or complicated beds. They are perfectly accustomed to sleep on mats, and would be very uncomfortable sleeping any other way. Closets, dressers, etc. are minimal, and they quickly wash what they have worn or will be wearing. The women are unaffected by the costly problem of fashion and its changes. They use a sari for all occasions and seasons. These people earn almost nothing, if in fact they have a job; but they evidently spend almost nothing for the needs of life.

They eat very little, at least in my view, with often only one regular meal a day, snacking here and there. After some days of adhering to this dietary plan, I began to wonder if this was not all that an adult needs to eat each day. Perhaps after a certain age a human being begins to eat more than necessary, being habituated to doing so by consumerism and the pleasures of eating. Seeing so many poorly nourished children, I became convinced that the problem of world hunger is based not only on the shortfall of supply, but on poor distribution, on the fact that one part of humanity has hardly anything to eat while the other part eats excessively. Hunger is of course a relative and cultural phenomenon. But it must be asked whether the three of four daily meals consumed in the Western world are really necessary.

In effect, my friends in Kondivita village seem to have resolved the problem of development in an original way: they do not satisfy every need, real or artificial; rather they reduce their needs and control them. This could be a way towards humanization and growth, if we agree with the testimony of the saints, the monks, and the ascetics, which in all religions

FATHER SEGUNDO GALILEA, *a Chilean priest who has served on the staff of several pastoral institutes including the Center for Intercultural Formation in Mexico and the Latin American Pastoral Institute in Chile, has in recent years returned to grass roots pastoral ministry in Santiago. His most recent book is* The Beatitudes: To Evangelize as Jesus Did *(Orbis). This article, previously published in Spanish by the Oficina Nacional de Catequesis, was translated by M. O'Laughlin.*

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constitutes a way (an extra-ordinary way, it must be recognized) of human liberation.

However, in the case of our Indian friends we must not fool ourselves. The majority are neither saints nor ascetics, and the way of life they lead is imposed on them by poverty. There are many real necessities which they are unable to satisfy. (Think only of health needs and education.) Perhaps many of the necessities which are part of human development are not felt by them. This is typical of extreme poverty. But it does not mean that they are not called to satisfy their needs in order to achieve fullness of life. These people cannot present themselves as ideal models of human development; to the contrary, the asceticism which they practice has an air of dehumanization and even of alienation. Asceticism requires profound spirituality. It is always the activity of a minority, and when it is practiced on a massive scale it becomes highly suspicious. But, in the midst of everything, there is an important and redeemable dimension of liberation in the way of life of an Indian village.

Several weeks later, when I left India, I had the opportunity to stop in New York. I stayed in the apartment of a friend. Arriving from India, the contrast overwhelmed me. It was not so much the difference between poverty and wealth, but the contrast between two philosophies of development.

The apartment of my friend was bursting with furniture, utensils, and the latest electric devices offering efficiency and comfort. Instructed by my previous experience, I began to ask myself to what extent this multitude of things was necessary for human development, and whether it actually represented progress in the quality of living. I made an inventory of the latest devices I encountered, and I found that the great majority were not designed to better the quality of life, but to provide greater comfort — the saving of a few seconds, the avoidance of a movement or change in temperature. Some were simply luxury items which go out of fashion or end up not being practical. What kind of development is this which diminishes the capacity to resist the harshness of life, to have control over oneself, and to accept certain necessities as part of the human condition?

Faced with the use and consumption of so many superfluous things which have come to be considered necessary in the life of the so-called "First World," and which constitute the framework of a way of conceiving development which is unilateral and dehumanizing, I thought back to the shacks of the Indians. Just as the Indians do not feel necessities that they ought to feel, the people here are continually conscious of more needs than they ought to feel. The New Yorkers earn a great deal of money, but spend more. Paradoxically, their budgets are as stretched as those who hardly earn anything and hardly spend anything. Although they enjoy greater comforts and can indulge more whims, the price they pay is the elimination of any form of asceticism in their daily lives.

Theirs is a pattern of life and development which can be neither imitated by the majority of peoples on the planet, the so-called "Third" and "Fourth Worlds," nor would this be in their best interest. Taking everything into consideration, my friends of Kondivita village, despite their poverty, have no desire to share the level and manner of life of a middle-class New Yorker.

It would then seem that the majority of the ideologues of development and of the struggle against poverty seem to be trapped between two equally frustrating viewpoints: either one tolerates a dehumanizing poverty often under the guise of a pseudo-asceticism, or one embarks upon an indefinite search for greater well-being and comfort which the rich countries have decided to call "progress" and "development," and which they try to present as such to the rest of the planet. On this point the similarities between the capitalisms, the state socialisms, and the Marxisms are surprisingly strong. Although they have different ideological and social concerns, they have in common an exacerbated economic model which forces them to forget and sometimes to disdain the culture and religion of the nations.

Latin America, perhaps more than any other area, because of its Western and "newly-prosperous" character, is caught in this dilemma. On the one hand, it desires the type of development of the "First World," without the slightest hope that its poor majorities will be able to take part in it. On the other hand, it has a cultural and religious substratum which is profoundly "humanistic" and, for that reason, stands in opposition to this. In face of this dilemma, many Christian thinkers and preachers seem to offer only a false economistic alternative, with its related type of liberation. They seem to reject any "third way" proposals, reducing them to one of the previous alternatives.

Perhaps they are correct if the "third way" is again ideological and economistic. But others conceive of a "third way" that is a leavening represented by the social doctrine of Christianity. It seems to me that Christian social doctrine completely changes the rules of the game and the definition of the problem. It offers a new humanism and conception of life, including the quality of life, and the motives for which one continues to live. It can help my friends in Kondivita village and also my friends in New York, redeeming what is of value in their respective attitudes towards life.

What inspires us in this authentic Christian humanism is the teaching that asceticism and austerity are dimensions of true development. Through a spirituality of revitalizing progress and material well-being it is close to the best religious tradition of India. Paradoxically, in order to escape from poverty, whether it be the through the redistribution of wealth or through self-advancement, it is necessary to know how to practice poverty. Liberation is not merely the satisfaction of needs. It is also moderating and controlling both needs and expectations. Progress based on unlimited comfort and infinite production of goods and services cannot bring an authentic socio-economic liberation. Only a degree of austerity and the application of restraint, in the personal and the collective realm, can bring such a change. In a nutshell, any valid plan of development and social or personal liberation must be in harmony with the ultimate purpose and motivation of human life.

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Screen

LEAN PICKINGS

A PAINLESS PASSAGE

DAVID LEAN is, in one precise way, a great filmmaker; *A Passage to India* is not a great film. Fine, yes, but currently it's riding a wave of excessive adulation based on nostalgia for the kind of old cinematic style Lean so mastered in the 1940s and '50s. Lean's power is superficial in both the best and worst senses of the word: he's a brilliant cinematographer, perhaps even a *genius* at photography. Far more than most other directors, he delves beyond guiding actors and shaping story to the specifically visual content of his films. Give Lean a camera and he soon composes — with filmic magic, majesty, sweep, and scope — sights to take your breath away. When the story he is telling is demonic (out of Dickens, say, in *Great Expectations* and *Oliver Twist*; with a warm-blooded Russian base in *Doctor Zhivago*; or with the desert Faustianism of *Lawrence of Arabia*), Lean finds stories which match his style — stories deep enough to balance and enrich, with real emotive power, his stately visual cadences. However, it takes just the right dose of madness to animate such a method.

E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* is a complex, dark melodrama of manners, with an added mystic tinge, and here Lean's style seems too open, too declarative, too epic. Of course, Lean is not entirely external in his focus. We can catch the psychology of bold gestures: Peter O'Toole blowing out the match near the beginning of *Lawrence of Arabia*, or later, à la Gordon Liddy, *enfolding* one. But there are no *bold* gestures in Forster. Indeed, not much happens: *maybe* a rape, then a trial that peters out (true to Forster's modernist zeitgeist, "not with a bang but a whimper"). *A Passage to India* is not a grand romantic tale loaded with action and extremist psychology. It's an anti-romance where even dementia comes off confused, not zany. At one point, the hero (sort of), an Indian named Doctor Aziz, reflects on the crucial event of the plot, and asks a listener, "Why should we care that much if one English girl got too much of the sun?" Forster makes you care; Lean doesn't. What the book needed in order to come across in film was someone who could combine a vivid visual sense with a more delicate, interiorized viewpoint. Lean's style, unfortunately, is as magisterial as the British empire satirized by Forster.

Perhaps an additional problem of the film, for me at least, is the overfamiliarity of the theme: the Anglo-Indian culture clash. Forster provided some interesting angles on the problem — in 1922, that is — but they seem tedious now. According to Lean, "as far as I know, no one has succeeded in putting India on screen," a statement which indicates, at best, he has never seen Satyajit Ray. But what of *Gandhi*, *Heat and Dust*, HBO's *The Far Pavilions*, and *The Jewel in the Crown*, that current hit of the leading American entertainment network, Granada Television? We could do with a few films on India, to be sure — on the Sikhs, for example, or Bhopal — for there is far more to the subcontinent than the "raj" period of British rule, especially when it is seen through British eyes. Perhaps the popularity of such pap in America is simply due to *our* colonialism. In the high arts, in particular, you can't fool all the people all the time, but an English accent sure helps. Indeed, as Indian novelist Salman Rushdie points out about the praise for *A Passage to India*, anglophilia seduces us into taking seriously the unbelievable proposition that the key elements in Anglo-Indian relations can be represented by the rape of an *English* woman.

In Lean's film, despite some initial, memorable shots of "raj" architecture in Bombay, we soon hunker down to the familiar: fussy imperial types with dancing mustaches, their high falutin' wives in flowing silks, and young sahibs (principally one with the genuinely crusty name of Ronnie Heaslop), who have grown stiff upper lips from sneering at the darkies. From England arrive two bored romantics, with equally appropriate symbolic names, Ronnie's mother Mrs. Moore and his intended, Adela Quested, both hungry for adventure with the *real* India. Both Moore and Quested befriend the young Indian Doctor Aziz, nervous but pleasant, anxious to please and to impress his "superiors." Aziz proposes a trip to the nearby Marabar caves, and thereby hangs the tale.

WHAT HAPPENS? It remains a mystery. Quested, somewhat overheated by finding erotic statuary and then fighting with her fiancé, gets closer to the doctor as they make their day trek to the caves; on the last leg, having left Mrs. Moore behind, she speaks politely but intimately to Aziz about his wife, who had died recently. Shortly after, we see her running from one of the caves in terror, claiming Aziz assaulted her, a claim she later recants during a trial — too late to save Ronnie and the English community from acute embarrassment. Mrs. Moore, confused and upset by her visit to the first cave, flees India before the trial, and dies while hearing some kind of cosmic sonic boom while sailing around Cape Horn.

We are left with a puzzle about Aziz: did he or didn't he? Only Forster knew for sure. But a different response claims that it doesn't matter — that the trip to the caves symbolizes one culture's inability to grasp the truth about another; alternately, as some Forster critics suggest, the trip symbolizes a kind of universal unknowability about the purpose and meaning of life itself. Unfortunately, Lean's efforts to convey the first inflection of the symbol seem minimal. Forster's symbolism is at best *implicit* in the film; no one draws such a moral, and the contrived happy end defeats it. On the other hand, Lean does convey the second theme — the spiritual significance of the caves' echo — all too heavy-handedly, with camera placements and sound effects that make sure we understand how important *it* was. Lean's overwrought version of Forster's "boom" is curried mysticism on the cheap, hardly

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helped by miscasting Alec Guiness in the role of a Hindu sage, Professor Godbole.

Nevertheless, the other principal actors do an excellent job in keeping *A Passage to India* afloat — even during some of the scene-setting "raj" sequences — in managing to keep boredom from becoming boring. Victor Bannerjee, a leading Indian actor, plays Dr. Aziz, and perfectly catches his mercurial range of emotions: ingratiating humility, ambition, and finally, in the film's best scene, revengeful anger. He's the embodiment of the cultured man caught between invaders and natives. If only he had been the main focus, *A Passage to India* would have *drive* as well as sweep. Peggy Ashcroft, as Mrs. Moore, successfully manages the thankless job of turning from searcher to old crank and still compels our pity. But Australian actress Judy Davis (formerly of *My Brilliant Career*) provides the most consistent point of interest as Adela Quested. She has an elfin face, uneven lips that seem in permanent motion with some slight bemusement, and, initially at least, a hat that triangulates the camera frame in close imitation of Ingrid Bergman's at the close of *Casablanca*. For this, perhaps, we are indebted to Lean's photographic genius, albeit slightly misplaced.

Taken as a whole, Lean's defects in *A Passage to India* remind me of Walter Scott's. But Scott recognized them in words which, perhaps, provide a final verdict on Lean's film. Of Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice,* Scott wrote: "That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements and feelings and characters of ordinary life which to me is the most wonderful I ever met with. The Big Bow-wow strain I can do myself . . . but the exquisite touch, which renders ordinary things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and sentiment, is denied to me." Lean's masterpieces with mad characters draw on his "bow-wow strain"; *A Passage to India* gives it inadequate outlet. It's the kind of film to see when you need something intelligent to hear and beautiful to eye. It just doesn't move. TOM O'BRIEN

Stage

CULTURAL MIXES

MAKING OVERT OVERTURES

"ONE OF THE THINGS that interested me about *Pacific Overtures*," Stephen Sondheim once said *(New York Times*, February 25, 1979), "was to see if you could do a musical of ideas." Broadway was not ready for the ideas, the music, or the combination when Sondheim's musical opened in 1976. It had a respectable twenty-week run, but in these days when big investments demand big success, it was a failure by Broadway standards. The most recent Sondheim show, *Sunday in the Park with George*, is now proving that a musical of ideas (aesthetic, not political and social this time) can draw Broadway audiences. Perhaps for that reason, *Pacific Overtures* is back — and in a fine off-Broadway production.

Pacific Overtures is a mixture of Eastern and Western musical styles and theatrical devices in the service of an account of the Westernization of Japan. The immediate event is the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry, who brought warships to Japan in 1853 as the most sensible instrument for his peaceful mission to open Japan to Western trade. Such a subject, treated venomously, could be a simple indictment of Western imperialism, but Sondheim and John Weidman, who wrote the book, are after more complex effects. The Americans arrive in Japan with pious platitudes and the threat of violence, and the other Westerners who come hard on their heels have the same sense of international propriety as a vehicle of commercial greed. Yet, the country to which they come is not the unspoiled paradise of conventional anti-imperialism. It is a society in which the class structure is oppressive, the government corrupt when it is not inept, and casual violence is as prevalent as excessive politeness.

To describe the ideational underlay of the musical so bluntly is to be misleading, for the scenes are designed to be funny, charming, touching, sometimes a bit acid, their surface oddly strengthening the serious implications they seem to belie. One of the most amusing scenes in the show is the almost slapstick "Chrysanthemum Tea," in which the Shogun's mother (played by a man, as are all the women's parts) poisons the effete Shogun, whom she thinks too weak to face the Americans. "Pretty Lady" is a sweet song made sour by the fact that the three British sailors sing prettily as a prelude to an attempt to buy sex, and by our certainty that they will be — as they are — cut down by the pretty lady's samurai father.

For more than thirty years *The King and I* has been the standard East-meets-West American musical (Yul Brynner has it on the boards again) with its "The Small House of Uncle Thomas" an almost perfect example of the kind of condescension likely to invade the charm of any Broadway attempt at such a cultural mix. *Pacific Overtures* avoids that pitfall by the thematic harshness described above and by its obvious artificiality. Although "Small House" was clearly and admirably the work of Jerome Robbins, it was ostensibly the product of the naive Siamese presenters of Mrs. Stowe's very American story. The musical scenes in *Pacific Overtures* are overtly the conception of Sondheim, Weidman, the directors and the performers — comments on, not presentations of, conflicting ways of perceiving. When Perry appears at the end of act 1, a kabuki lion in a naval officer's coat, his dance is less an animation of the Perry-monsters in Japanese drawings than Sondheim's acknowledgement and use of such fantasticality. There is a hilarious and hilariously nasty scene in *Pacific Overtures* in which the Western ambassadors sweep in on the cheerful strains of parody (Offenbach, Gilbert and Sullivan, etc.) and with a great show of amiability force their ever increasing demands on the Japanese.

It may seem an abrupt leap from Sondheim to Wole Soyinka, but the national types that gather in the Bugara

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Embassy in *A Play of Giants*, which recently had its world premiere at the Yale Rep, are cartoons as broad and as serious in their farce as those in *Pacific Overtures*. On the night I saw *Giants*, Roger Robinson, who had the most demanding role, became ill early in the first act. He insisted on playing and, despite the skill of the performers in masking his infirmity, everyone on and off stage went through the first act apprehensive of the disaster which happily did not come. He played the second act with vigor and no sign of strain.

My initial responses were colored by the unfortunate circumstances of the performance, but I think I could see the play clearly enough to make a tentative report. *Giants* was a disappointment to an admirer like me who prefers Soyinka when he modifies traditional African ritual to express his contemporary ideas *(The Road, Death and the King's Horsemen)*. Yet, even when Soyinka's theatrical inventiveness is not used to its fullest, he has important things to say about Africa in particular, the world in general.

The giants in the play that Soyinka subtitles "A Fantasia on the Aminian Theme" are four African dictators, based on Bokassa, Mobutu, Ngeuma, and Idi Amin. Soyinka's genre this time is conventional political farce, and his satiric method is the overstatement of *Kongi's Harvest*. One might argue that it is impossible to overstate men like Bokassa and Idi Amin, outrageously comic and outrageously bloody, but grotesque caricature in life is different from that on stage. Not only in its four dictators, but in the Russian and American U.N. delegates (Mary-Alan Hokanson marvelously suggests Jeane Kirkpatrick without imitating her), the self- and other-deluding black American professor and politician, and the Swedish apologist/mistress, *Giants* makes no attempt at subtlety. It is sometimes funny, sometimes blunt satire, as artificial as Sondheim's but without being effective in its use of that artificiality, as Soyinka has been on other occasions (Oba Danlola's scenes in *Kongi's Harvest*, the games of the mendicants in *Madmen and Specialists*). Too often, in *Giants*, Soyinka shrinks his skills as a marksman by making his targets too large.

There is no doubt about Soyinka's serious intentions in *Giants*. From the first years of African independence, he has refused to disregard the ugly acts of tyrants who substitute "black jackboots" for "colonial boots," as he told an interviewer in the New Haven *Advocate* (November 28, 1984). His immediate butts are not only such African rulers, but also the great powers whose acquiescence helps sustain them. Beyond that, his larger theme is "the taste of absolute power." The play's repetitions, in act and word, tend to weaken the bite in the satire. His most effective statement of theme is the device which both defines the chief character and gives the play whatever plot it has. Kamini (the Idi Amin figure) is presented as vain and sentimental, sly but obtuse. In scene after scene, incapable of following any but the simplest remarks, he lifts a single word or phrase out of a speech whose import has escaped him, builds a response on it — often a cruel one — and settles back in self-congratulatory complacence at his correctness. It is altogether proper, in the farcically violent worlds of the play and international politics, that he take his titles literally, his rhetoric as reality, and the letter of international law as binding (the Bugara Embassy is Bugaran territory), and builds them into an explosive finale which presumably destroys not only him and his fellow giants, but the American and Russian delegates and the Secretary General as well. The incidental music is from Wagner's *The Twilight of the Gods*, but for Soyinka its use is probably not only a joke, but wishful thinking.

GERALD WEALES

Books: LIMITS & THE SOLID SELF

THE MINIMAL SELF
Christopher Lasch
Norton, $16.95, 301 pp.

Richard Wightman Fox

WITH *The Culture of Narcissism* in 1979 historian Christopher Lasch established himself as a major social critic. The book reached a mass audience, like its early postwar model, David Riesman's *Lonely Crowd*, and received the American Book Award for "paperback current interest." Lasch promptly turned the award down on the grounds that it judged commercial, not literary, value and partook of the very consumer culture his book meant to condemn. He did not turn down President Carter's invitation to consult on the "national malaise," or *People*'s request for an "interview" that drew the sting from his book by reducing it to a description of the "me decade." *People*, the president, and many others misread his argument as one more attack on hedonism, another plea for rededication to traditional discipline. They missed the deeper level of historical and psychological insight: American culture was producing not selfishness, in Lasch's view, but a faltering sense of selfhood. Like Riesman, Lasch was signaling the erosion of the self in a consumer culture of mass-produced "life-styles."

In *The Minimal Self* he tries to restate the argument to avoid misunderstanding. More importantly, he moves beyond the historically rooted social and psychological analysis that marked all his previous work and begins to reflect on the ultimate meaning of human existence. Lasch has always written in part as a moralist, but he has now embraced that role with a forthright discussion of the spiritual dimension of human life. He preaches no return to religion as such, but he does insist that progressive politics must root itself in a "Judeo-Christian" view of human selfhood. Blending Freud and

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Niebuhr he issues a cogent appeal for a resurgent liberalism built on a firm sense of human limits — the only sound basis, he holds, for an enduring sense of selfhood, and a long-term politics of reform.

To grasp the originality of *The Minimal Self* it will help to look briefly at his earlier work. His classic *New Radicalism in America* (1965) was a critique of twentieth-century American liberal intellectuals, who in Lasch's view too often subordinated the quest for truth to the quest for experience. He brilliantly subverted the conventional distinction between radical, alienated intellectuals and liberal policy intellectuals by showing that both groups debased intellect itself in their yearning either for the "real life" of the masses or for influence and power at the upper reaches of society. Radicals who preached liberation and liberals who touted expertise agreed that traditional democratic politics were outdated. They viewed the "people" either as a warm reservoir of virtue in which to immerse themselves or a faceless mass to manipulate. They no longer saw the people as citizens capable of organizing themselves for political goals. Intellectuals gave up, said Lasch, on political solutions for political problems. They abandoned their proper role as debunkers of progressive cant and as critics of the powerful. They imagined themselves riding the wave of history when they should have engaged in the humbler task of clarifying values.

Haven in a Heartless World (1977) picked up one key strand of *The New Radicalism*: its critique of liberal intellectuals. Lasch showed how the notion of the nuclear family as a haven of emotional solace in the urban industrial jungle was fostered by a rising elite of social scientists and helping professionals. They claimed the family would survive only if it perfected the provision of emotional services — a view that justified their own intervention in family affairs. Psychiatrists, social workers, and child guidance experts had lofty intentions — to free children and wives from paternal autocracy — but instead they replaced the father with a new set of outside authorities. These state-sponsored experts invaded the family, sapped its autonomy, and subverted the psychic mechanism by which bourgeois society had managed to create self-disciplined children: the painful struggle to transcend the father. It was children like these who were capable in adulthood of calling bourgeois society itself into question. The mid-twentieth-century child, by contrast, "no longer wishes to succeed the father. Instead he wishes merely to enjoy life without his interference."

Again Lasch had exposed the pretensions of liberal intellectuals, but he had also boxed himself into a corner. Like the Frankfurt School theorists from whom he drew some of his ideas on the family, he was stuck with a deeply pessimistic portrait of American life. The "people" were apparently impotent in the face of the "machinery of organized domination." He was left in the apparent contradiction of hoping for radical change while yearning for the psychic strength of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. But if the psychic sources of autonomous adulthood had indeed atrophied in the wake of therapeutic intervention, it was not evident why there was any reason to hope.

The Culture of Narcissism broadened the argument by bringing back the alienated intellectuals from *Haven in a Heartless World*. Modern intellectuals of both types, Lasch again argued, were thoroughly integrated into the culture of consumption. Literary artists abandoned the effort to portray a stable self confronting a real world, and therapists preached a gospel of cool, passionless "openness." Lasch ranged deftly across the whole cultural map to document the intertwining forces that created not a culture of hedonists, but a culture of men and women anxious about personal survival, afflicted with narcissistic personality disorders, and apathetic about the future. Lacking strong personal relationships, opposed on principle to long-term commitments — which liberal therapists had attacked as confining and antithetical to "growth" — they were terrified of dy-

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ing. They could not see themselves as mortal beings tied to past and future generations by bonds of memory and sympathy.

The Culture of Narcissism still exuded the hopelessness of *Haven in a Heartless World*. Lasch was left in the position of ironic detachment that *Culture* itself identified as one of the key products of a narcissistic culture. "In a society based so largely on illusions and appearances, the ultimate illusions, art and religion, have no future. *Credo quia absurdum*, the paradox of religious experience in the past, has little meaning in a world where everything seems absurd, not merely the miracles associated with religious faith and practice." His final, tacked-on claim that "the will to build a better society survived" the relentless spread of narcissism seemed unconvincing.

The Minimal Self breaks decisively with the determinist tenor of much of *Haven* and *Culture* and firmly rejects the Freudian view of religion as compensatory illusion. It manages to do simultaneous justice to the social-historical analysis of the consumer culture and the therapeutic state while avoiding the conclusion that advertisers and other experts have snatched the autonomy of their victims. He skillfully evokes the mirage-like character of the contemporary world of images, and spells out the link between the fleeting nature of experience and our current infatuation with victimization and survivalism. In a bold theoretical concluding section he then works through Freud and invokes Niebuhr to suggest that a stable core of selfhood can itself survive the onslaught of cultural agencies devoted to its dissolution.

The "minimal" or "narcissistic" self, Lasch argues, is not aggressively self-seeking, but confused about the boundaries between itself and the world. The consumer world of flickering images and rapidly outmoded fashions aggravates the self's uncertainty and promotes a desperate effort either to impose itself on the world or immerse itself passively in it. But these narcissistic reactions have not only a social but a biological derivation. The child and the adult, as Freud observed, inevitably try to recapture the "oceanic" feeling that the infant experienced in the womb. Cultural forces pose a massive obstacle to a mature resolution of the separation anxiety, but they are not at the root of the problem. The anxiety is built into human life. So is the potential for converting anxiety into a productive adulthood.

That might seem a trivial observation, but it is a liberating one for Lasch's analysis. If the struggle to reconcile oneself to separation is historically universal —biologically and not culturally based—then a consumer culture can never expunge it. The agencies of cultural domination can never create a uniform culture of narcissists. The perennial tension in human existence between separation and reintegration — a tension that produces in Lasch's view the sublime achievements of both art and religion — continually renews the springs of human autonomy. Like Lionel Trilling, Lasch finds Freud indispensable because he offers a standpoint "beyond culture."

Likewise he finds Reinhold Niebuhr helpful for grasping the full ambiguity of mature selfhood. Niebuhr shared Freud's view that the self was always at war with itself. It was not a simple, rational entity that a person possessed and ordered about. It was a cauldron of impulses and desires, some self-seeking, some self-sacrificial. Human beings were poor judges of their own motives. With Freud, Niebuhr deflated reason; with Freud too he paradoxically committed himself to the long-term quest for self-knowledge. Lasch draws on Niebuhr to bring out the moral imperative implicit in Freud's standpoint:

"Selfhood," Lasch writes, "is precisely the inescapable awareness of man's contradictory place in the natural order of things." Human beings are part of nature yet they transcend it. Paraphrasing *The Nature and Destiny of Man* he notes that "self-consciousness — the capacity to see the self from a point of view outside the self — distinguishes humanity from other forms of life." Selfhood is a process, not a possession; and it is a hard-won achievement.

The starting point for a lasting commitment to self-knowledge and moral responsibility, Lasch concludes, is a selfhood powerful enough to produce a "guilty conscience," a "painful awareness of the gulf between human aspirations and human limitations." Putting in a good word for guilty conscience in 1984 is as outrageous to the conventional liberal wisdom as Niebuhr's own invocation of original sin was a generation ago. But for Lasch it is time for the left to embrace "what remains valuable in the Western, Judeo-Christian tradition"; a view of the self that can comprehend, in the final words of the book, "both our fallen state and our surprising capacity for gratitude, remorse, and forgiveness, by means of which we now and then transcend it."

To the Victors belong the spoils

DEMOCRACY

Joan Didion

Simon & Schuster, $13.95, 234 pp.

Gregory A. Schirmer

JOAN Didion's vision of contemporary America is summed up precisely in two lines from W.B. Yeats's "The Second Coming," a poem that supplied the title for her first collection of journalistic essays, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*: "Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;/Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world."

For almost twenty years, Didion has been arguing that what has brought America to this pass is a gradual but inexorable disintegration of the center on which the nation was founded: faith in the individual. In journalistic essays and in novels, Didion has portrayed America as a country in which the individual has been devalued and overwhelmed by everything from media manipulation to government bureaucracy, from the hippie movement of the 1960s to the women's movement of the 1970s. "All one's actual apprehension of what it is like to be a woman," she wrote in one of her most controversial essays, "The Women's Movement," "the irreconcilable

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difference of it — that sense of living one's deepest life underwater, that dark involvement with blood and birth and death — could now be declared invalid, unnecessary."

This is, of course, a fundamentally conservative view, and it derives in part from Didion's upbringing in the 1940s and 1950s in Sacramento, California — not the contemporary Sacramento of strip-zoning, fast-food restaurants, shopping malls, and numbing rows of tract houses providing temporary shelter for transient aircraft and computer executives, but the old Sacramento, a provincial, essentially agricultural community whose economics and politics were closer to those of small towns in Iowa or Indiana than to those of San Francisco, just ninety miles away.

Democracy, Didion's fourth novel, is an ambitious, but not altogether successful rendering of this vision, attempting to explore both the anarchy of public life (the province, chiefly, of Didion's journalism) and the futility of private life (the concern of her previous fiction). Its characters include prominent public figures — most notably, Harry Victor, a politician who ran unsuccessfully for president in 1972 — but the book also examines the inner, emotional lives of characters caught up in that orbit, counting the cost to the individual of a life dedicated to public propriety.

Moreover, while large parts of the novel are written in Didion's characteristically detached journalistic voice, with Didion herself as narrator-reporter, other sections are self-consciously novelistic, appealing indeed to the complexities of contemporary metafiction. The mixture is not always a happy one, and in some ways this novel demonstrates that Didion is a better journalist than a novelist. The best passages are those that display the sharp, self-evident irony and the gift for finding just the right image that characterize the best of her work as a reporter — pieces like "Some Dreamers of a Golden Dream" and the title essay of "Slouching Towards Bethlehem."

Didion's concern with the loss of individuality in contemporary America is embodied in *Democracy* chiefly in the novel's central character, Inez Victor, the daughter of a prominent but shattered American family in Hawaii. Inez's marriage to Harry, underneath the usual publicity photographs of the successful politician and his loving wife, is a failure, and Inez has, for twenty years, nursed her love for Jack Lovett, a man also caught up in public life, but in the shadowy, clandestine way of the behind-the-scenes agent who traffics in war and revolution.

The collapse of Inez's personal life is played out against the hypocrisy and corruption of American public life, seen both in Harry's shallow-minded politicking and in the morally questionable American involvement in Vietnam, the background to the novel. Only after the surface of her life with Harry has been destroyed by the murder of her sister and by her decision to leave her husband does Inez realize fully how high a price she has paid for her life:

"Inez thought about Harry in New York and Adlai [her son] at school and Jessie [her daughter] at B.J.'s and it occurred to her that for the first time in almost twenty years she was not particularly interested in any of them . . . They were definitely connected to her but she could no longer grasp her own or their uniqueness, her own or their difference, genius, special claim."

When Didion first started writing about this kind of anarchy, she did so with a faith in the power of narrative to supply a center that would hold. But later, especially in the journalistic pieces collected in *The White Album*, published in 1979, that faith began to erode. What she saw in the America of the late 1960s and early 1970s seemed to defy the sense-making conventions of narrative, and she concluded the title essay of that volume by conceding that "writing has not yet helped me to see what it means."

The destruction of this center is very much in evidence in *Democracy*. "This is a hard story to tell," the narrator says early in the novel, and the book is full of false starts, abandoned shards of narrative, doubts about the validity of telling the story at all. It is, as Didion says, "a novel of fitful glimpses," and those glimpses do not always add up — any more, Didion would say, than do the bits and pieces of the lives of Didion's characters, or of Didion herself, or of contemporary America.

Going with the flow

BEING ADOLESCENT
CONFLICT AND GROWTH IN THE TEENAGE YEARS
Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Reed Larson
Basic Books, $21.95, 332 pp.

ADOLESCENT SPIRITUALITY
PASTORAL MINISTRY FOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE YOUTH
Charles M. Shelton, S.J.
Loyola University Press, $15, 366 pp.

Raymond A. Schroth

ALMOST EVERYONE knows some adolescents. Hardly anyone knows any one of them well. Indeed it seems part of the definition of that stage of human development between entering high school and early college that the young strategically evade definition — perhaps because the rest of us have so many good reasons to try to define them: to socialize them — train them in adult behavior patterns so they can be responsible citizens; to "capture the teenage market" and sell them stereos and skis and tickets to rock concerts and to the Bahamas, and kegs of Budweiser and Miller, and Izod shirts and yellow pants; to give them an education and a "spirituality" — if not to save them from Bud and the beaches, at least to teach them, without apology, that, while everyone appreciates a cold brew on a hot day, life neither begins nor ends with the popping open of yet another can.

A non-scientific observer of adolescents, an average newspaper reader, might say that the two traits which most distinguish them are their joy and their despair. When spring and summer burst upon us they leap off rocks and waterfalls into country swimming holes. Or they kill themselves; or so it would seem from

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last year's spate of teenage suicide stories, as if suicide were a medical epidemic like the flu.

If we are parents or teachers we are tempted to despair not just at how little they learn from us, about cleaning their rooms or handing in term papers on time, but at how little they learn from the experience of one another.

They come home sad-faced from the funerals of their friends who have driven their cars, drunk, at 3:00 A.M. into telephone poles, and go roaring off themselves the next Saturday night with a case of Miller in the front seat. Kids are always losing arms and legs playing around railroad tracks, yet some of those in *Being Adolescent* hang from railroad trestles while the trains pass overhead. And every college campus has several of its freshman men with their fists and forearms bandaged and in casts, tendons cut and feeling lost, as if no one before them had learned what happens when you punch a mirror or crush a glass mug with your bare hands.

The social scientists try to help us with these mysteries, if not to solve them, at least to put them in perspective and tell us how much their research confirms or contradicts our own experience. In *Being Adolescent*—Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, a professor of behavior science and education, and Reed Larson, an assistant professor of psychiatry, both at the University of Chicago, gave electronic pagers for one week in May 1978 to seventy-five suburban Chicago high school students (here called Belmont High), and beeped them every forty minutes to have them fill out questionnaires on what they were doing and how they felt about it. In *Adolescent Spirituality*, Charles M. Shelton, S.J., a recently ordained priest who has dealt with students in Denver and St. Louis and read widely in developmental psychology and Jesuit spirituality, attempts to apply the compatible principles of these two disciplines to the guidance of Catholic high school and college men and women. The problems he addresses are not, on the surface, those of Belmont High — at least not those measured by Csikszentmihalyi and Reed.

For those who live or work with the young, *Being Adolescent*, which focuses on how teenagers spend their time, holds few surprises, but it does offer a good mix of discouraging facts and hopeful advice. The authors have examined their data from several points of view, interviewed many of their subjects in depth (including about one-third in a follow-up study), presented some case studies for analysis, and placed their findings in the context of current research. Finally, they propose a modest, yet challenging, formula for exploiting what they call "flow experiences" that enable us to both respect the feelings of adolescents and, at the same time, pull them into adulthood.

Until that happens, their feelings are like a soccer ball, kicked back and forth in a series of sudden reversals, with only an occasional score. Their daily lives are a continual series of minor frustrations and highs — spats with parents about taking out the garbage, worrying about a meeting with the dean, getting stoned on Saturday night; only occasionally do they transcend the emotions of the moment. Most of their time, 40 percent, is spent in leisure activity, socializing, watching TV, etc.; 31 percent goes to "maintenance," eating, chores, etc.; and the remaining 29 percent is "productive," schoolwork and jobs. Academic work — combined classroom work and home study — claims a paltry 26 hours a week, compared to 59 for Japan and 50 for Soviet Russia. For less than 40 percent of the class time they pay attention.

With whom do they spend their time? They spend 29 percent with friends, 23 percent with classmates, 27 percent alone and only 19 percent with their families. As the authors observe, it is "startling how little time these teenagers spend in the company of adults." About two percent. They almost never speak personally with their teachers; they talk with their mothers, but spend an average of one-half hour a week with their fathers. One boy observed, "My father would work twenty-four hours a day if he had the energy." There are some very happy moments with families, usually when they go away on vacation; but, for the most part, members of this group report themselves as most "intrinsically motivated" when they are "outside the reach of the oppressive regime, when huddled in basements, out in the woods, or gathered in numbers with their fellow-oppressed in the student center or lunchroom."

The recorded high points of Gregory Stone's (not his real name, but it should be) week are 10:30 P.M., Friday, "taking a hit off a joint" and 12:15 P.M. Wednesday, "rapping with friends" on the school mall and admiring a graffiti ("Q: Are we not men? A: We are DEVO!") he himself had previously scrawled. The absolute low for athlete Jerzy Madigan is 10:15 A.M. Sunday on the way to church with his parents who, to double his pain, play opera on the radio when he wants rock, and he is hung over from the night before. There is hope, however, for Kathy Tennison who has clear goals and concentrates her attention on developing academic and musical skills. Her high-point is playing her violin in the orchestra; her low, struggling with a history assignment. Her moods are almost as variable as Greg's; but, unlike Greg, she integrates "negative feedback" into her experience as motivation for better work.

Adolescent Spirituality covers some of the same territory as *Being Adolescent*, like the destructive influence of peer pressure and the relationship between challenge and growth, but these young people seem to inhabit two different worlds, not just religious and secular, but abstract and concrete. Father Shelton's nameless youths experience doubt in their life of faith until they can make faith a "profound relational commitment," and they strive to avoid "non-growthful behavior," and achieve "personal life stances" that are "life-enhancing." Csikszentmihalyi and Larson give us Ronny, the football player who gets "unambiguous feedback about his existence" by (he says) "mauling people, and hurting 'em so they're afraid to come again"; but he is happiest visiting his grandmother in a small town who pampers him and leaves him free to take out the local girls. Shelton's problem areas are the traditional Catholic ones: faith crisis, prayer, sexual morality (where his advice on masturbation and premarital intercourse, etc. is sensibly based on

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writers like Eugene Kennedy, Anthony Kosnick, Charles Curran and Richard McCormick, S.J.), and social justice. At Belmont High a bunch of wise guys in togas break up the senior banquet with a food fight.

To me, neither book deals adequately with the issue of integrity. A young Ivy League teacher said recently of students he had known, "They lie a lot." He was not indicting them, but rather, reflecting on their inability to present the same face to their peers, their teachers, and themselves. But this is not a problem unique to adolescents.

Shelton has organized his book like a manual, perhaps for a seminary course, in which he summarizes the developmental theories of a whole string of psychologists — Lawrence Kohlberg's three levels and two stages for each level, William Perry's six positions, to the point where there is scarcely a page not split into lists, steps, and suggestions — some of them rather reasonable, most simply pointed toward dealing with young people at their appropriate level, engaging them in honest dialogue, and urging them to develop a personal friendship with Jesus. Meanwhile, Shelton's publishers have served him poorly: the copy editor has allowed him not only to affirm the obvious sometimes ("by self-concept Super means the impressions we have of ourselves . . .") but also to repeat it; and I spotted at least seven printing errors in the first third of the book.

But most important is what either or both of these books can offer us about what the established generation can do to not-so-much ease the transition from adolescence to adulthood — for there is no such thing as painless change — as to make it a real *transition* where childish behavior, the demand for immediate gratification, is really left behind. *Being Adolescent* makes a crucial distinction between *pleasure,* the repeated release of instinctual tensions, and *enjoyment,* which must grow in order to continue. The students in their survey took the most *joy* not from sex and parties but from creative activity that challenged them.

It would seem to follow — and here I join my experience to the book's conclusions about "flow" — that if more adults (parents, teachers, and family friends) would make the necessary sacrifices and enter more often and more deeply into the lives of the young, offering both moral support *and* a series of increasingly difficult challenges which the young can handle but which tax their skills to the utmost, students would discover that the terms "joy" and "intellectual life" not only belong together but even fit in with a quiet conversation huddled in a basement with a couple of beers.

So huddled, they would gripe about the teachers who gave them too much work, but they would reserve their ultimate derision for the "guts," those who asked little for the guaranteed B or C, and gave little in return.

With this in mind, perhaps some future book on adolescent spirituality will address the asceticism of intellectual rigor, the notion that study is a hard and lonely business to be endured when it cannot be enjoyed, for the sake of some higher, selfless goal. Of the one-quarter of their waking time that adolescents spend alone, only 22 percent of it is "productive," 16 percent spent in study. Good education must strike a balance between coddling students and abandoning them to the record companies, the Fort Lauderdale Chamber of Commerce, and their own capacity for self-destruction. If Greg and Ronny and their friends knew that adults who knew them by name and whom they respected were going to hold them responsible on Monday for *Seven Storey Mountain* or require a five-page science or history paper which would be promptly and critically read and returned by the next class, they might have to actually choose between accepting an academic challenge and hanging out with the gang. They might, of course, respond by hanging out on the street corner and then write obscenities on their questionnaires when the psychologists beep them. And they might not.

Sticking with the union

WHAT DO UNIONS DO?

Richard B. Freeman and James L. Medoff
Basic Books, $22.95, 293 pp.

Marc Levinson

BEHIND the rightward lurch in America has been a shortage of intellectual thought on the left. While well-funded neoconservatives have produced tome after tome showing that less government and more free markets cure all ills, economists who see a need for stabilizing institutions in a world of imperfect markets and persistent class distinctions have all but abandoned the field to the likes of Murray Wiedenbaum and George Gilder.

Into this void step two Harvard economists, Richard Freeman and James Medoff, with the strongest intellectual defense of the labor movement to emerge in a decade. With careful analysis of data from a wide variety of government surveys and private studies, *What Do Unions Do?* attempts to prove quantitatively a claim that flies in the face of the prevailing view: unions are good, the authors conclude, not only for union members but for society as a whole.

Few institutions have suffered more from the attacks of the free marketeers, who view unions as monopolistic institutions creating inefficiencies, reducing employment, and gaining inflated wages for their members while reducing pay for non-members. Their work has been accompanied by the steady public relations of the National Right-to-Work Legal Defense Fund, an employer-funded organization which defends workers' "rights" not to pay union dues, and by a concerted campaign in the halls of Congress to show that union violence is the major labor relations problem in America today.

The much-criticized "monopoly face" of unions is indeed socially harmful, Freeman and Medoff agree, but it is not the only face unions present. Unions also offer workers a collective voice which may lead to a more efficient selection of wages and benefits. Without a union, employers will tailor compensa-

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tion to the marginal worker, typically a younger worker whom the firm is seeking to attract or retain. The firm can safely ignore the wishes of older workers who have little mobility. With a union, on the other hand, the median worker — the one whose vote will win the representation election, or make a majority in a union local meeting — is likely to be the focus of attention. Unions thus systematically rearrange working conditions in favor of older workers.

The authors show this clearly in their analysis of government data on fringe benefits. For union workers at age twenty, the value of major fringes — vacation, insurance, pensions — is only slightly more than what an average non-union worker receives. By age sixty, however, the value of those fringes is 23 percent of the union worker's wage, compared to only 15 percent of the lower wage of the non-union worker. In addition, unionized firms are far more likely than non-union firms to lay off fewer senior workers first and to promote workers based on seniority.

Contrary to the assertions of many economists, unions do raise wages. For blue-collar workers, wages are 19 percent higher in the presence of a union than without one. Unionized white-collar workers, by contrast, earn wages only 4 percent higher than their non-union counterparts, which may be one reason for labor's repeated failure to make inroads among that group. The smaller the employer, the greater the difference a union contract will make to the workers.

Those higher wages do increase income inequality between union and non-union workers. But that effect is more than counteracted by unions' influence in reducing income differences within plants and between white-collar and blue-collar workers. In the industries where they are most powerful, unions deprive firms of monopoly profits by insisting on a share for their members. Overall, these activities contribute to a more equal distribution of income.

As a whole, society may be better off for the union presence. Income inquality is less. Benefits are more in line with average workers' needs. Working conditions — "public goods" in the workplace, for which few individual workers would stick out their necks — are improved. And, certainly, much of the social legislation of the past two decades, from the Civil Rights Act to the Occupational Safety and Health Act, would not be on the books without the efforts of organized labor.

Freeman and Medoff weaken their own arguments by a reluctance to criticize the House of Labor. Is it really most efficient to sign contracts which benefit the oldest workers most, often a shortsighted step which alienates younger workers from the labor movement? What of the interests of union staff in maintaining their own importance, an interest which colors every aspect of labor relations from the persistence of obsolete craft unions to the tardy emergence of flexible benefit programs to replace the large health and welfare plans which unions help to run? The slowdown in union organizing — the authors estimate that as much as a third of the decline in union election victories is due to reduced organizing — is well treated, but there is no discussion of the internal cost/benefit calculus most unions now consider before embarking on organizing drives.

Despite these flaws, Freeman and Medoff cover vast and important ground in this data-filled book. It should prove a valuable weapon to the labor leaders seeking to organize a generation which has grown up suspicious of a unionism it knows all too little about.

From deterrence to defense?

WEAPONS AND HOPE

Freeman Dyson

Harper & Row, $17.95, 340 pp.

James F. McCue

THOSE who ignore history are condemned to repeat it — a familiar adage, but one which is not immediately serviceable. For history teaches a variety of lessons. Everyone who has addressed the issue of nuclear weapons has learned something from the political and military history of the twentieth century, but the lessons to be learned from it all are contradictory. As citizens of the twentieth century, we have all been marked by the memories and experiences of World War I and World War II; but it seems to be the case that the deep and growing disagreement about the way toward peace in the closing years of the twentieth century is between World War I people and World War II people. We draw the parable for our time from these very different sources.

The first group sees the world threatened *principally* by a system of military hardware and conventions that threatens at any moment to break loose from human control and destroy the entire civilization that has created it. In this view, human villainy — however abundant it may in fact be — is really irrelevant to the principal issue, which is how both parties are to get out from under the common threat of a military system which neither of them separately is able to control.

The second group is much more haunted by images of the late 1930s, indeed by the entire inter-war era in which war was made inevitable by a combination of unprecedented villainy on one side and fear-inspired self-deception on the other.

Freeman Dyson — physicist, consultant to the Defense Department, gravely concerned human being — is clearly a World War I person. As he views the world, or the relationship between the super-powers, it is not some Hitleresque Soviet villainy that threatens us, but the massiveness and complex interrelatedness of our military systems, in a world in which we can count on a deep irrationality and unpredictability in human affairs.

Weapons and Hope is a refreshingly idiosyncratic book on a subject which, judging from the literature, seems able to evoke only a few stock responses: either one demonstrates the folly (or better the moral cretinism) of nuclear weapons and

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their sponsors, hoping that like ancient Jericho their defending walls will come crashing down at the trumpet sound; or one argues for a substantially larger or a substantially smaller version of the status quo. Dyson, in a book that is part memoir, part reflection on what one might take to be totally unrelated bits of history, part prescription, manages to take seriously both the weapons, their sponsors, and the possibility of persuading the latter to get rid of the former.

In general, Dyson's argument is that we should shift our nuclear strategy from deterrence to defense, and in the process eliminate the necessity of nuclear weapons. It is a mark of Dyson's individualism that he is quite willing to adopt positions that are automatically viewed with suspicion by most of those who favor a reduction in the American nuclear arsenal. He is even willing to argue on behalf of fallout shelters under some circumstances, a view that is unlikely to be well received by what one would expect would be the book's natural constituency.

The general program is that we are simultaneously to seek substantial reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both super powers, at the same time that we pursue very actively research and development of defensive weapons systems that could make use of *non-nuclear* means of destroying incoming missiles. Such a defensive system could make sense only in a world in which the level of nuclear armaments had been brought down much lower than is presently the case. Dyson does not suppose that this can come about

REVIEWERS

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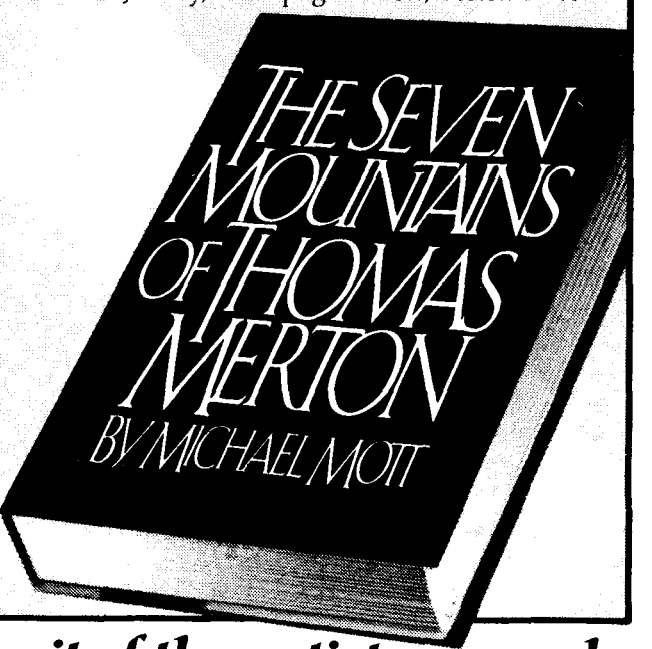

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easily or quickly. He observes that for grandparents a significant time scale is fifty years, and he thinks that the time in which what he is proposing is feasible is on that order of magnitude. Not soon, but not never.

He recognizes that there are many difficulties in the proposal; but no proposal, not even the proposal that we maintain things as they are, is without difficulty. And Dyson is not so much concerned to provide a detailed formula for overcoming all the difficulties as to provide an over-arching "concept" that at least provides a direction that offers some hope. For it is central to Dyson's analysis that we are presently without hope in the matter of nuclear policy. People cannot take simple disarmament seriously enough even as a possibility, and continued nuclear impasse in a world in which the future is notoriously out of control threatens eventual, even if unpredictable, disaster. Dyson tries to provide an alternative to the present that is not "hopelessly" utopian, yet which could, if carried through successfully, lead to a world that would still be filled with violence and stupidity but which would not threaten at any moment to destroy itself. Dyson does not suppose that his proposal, if implemented, would absolutely guarantee us against any damage by an opponent's nuclear weapons. He only claims that it would provide as sure a guarantee as we have presently, that it would not involve our willingness to threaten the annihilation of entire populations, and that it would not threaten the whole world.

How sound is Dyson's proposal? I don't think that even Dyson is prepared to say. An obvious difficulty is that the proposal to move from deterrence to defense would require scrapping one of the few arms control treaties that we have succeeded in negotiating: the agreement to limit ABM systems. Another difficulty, though it tells more against the immediate usefulness of the concept than against its long-term possibilities, is that it requires a much higher level of trust and understanding between the superpowers than seems likely with the present administration in the United States and a very shaky caretaker regime in the Soviet Union. Dyson's is an idea whose time has not come, but which certainly merits closer scrutiny in the meantime.

Church/world watch

(Continued from page 72)

ous cooperation on the Middle East will be conditioned by progress in other dimensions of the superpower relationship, notably the recently renewed discussions on arms control.

If an American Middle East initiative is undertaken, the final policy problem remains: how will it be staffed within the administration? In 1984 most policy activity rested with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, an able and experienced Middle East diplomat. The advantage of this level of representation is that it lodges policy in the hands of the area professionals. The limitation of this level of engagement is that it does not carry the political weight to indicate a renewed U.S. determination to undertake a significant role in the Middle East. To send such a signal will most likely require a special emissary of the status of Mr. Linowitz or Mr. Kissinger (an unlikely but interesting choice). Such an appointment would send the message that the United States had heard Mr. Eban's invitation. J. BRYAN HEHIR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 66)

final product very strikingly parallels the other writings of Novak — in its controlling ideas, many of its details, even much of its phrasing. Mr. Finn sees our teasing suggestion that he and his enterprising colleagues had spent a lot of money to reinvent *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism, Freedom with Justice*, etc., as nothing less than "gutter commentary." We think he overdoes his indignation. Certainly he overdoes his effort to defend his group as, in any serious sense, "representative." Approximately half its members are business executives; others serve on corporate boards. A number are tied to conservative foundations. The group was studded with GOP political figures linked to the Nixon and Reagan administrations (Simon, Haig, Luce, Hickel, Flanigan, Shakespeare, and Ture); there were no comparable Democrats. Indeed, the handful of Democrats included those like Novak and Finn who have supported President Reagan. The group's two union officials resigned.

ACTU & the scholars

Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editors: John Cort's letter of Nov. 30, 1984 disagrees with things I wrote in the review of *The Electrical Workers* by Ronald Schatz [Aug. 10, 1984], and disagrees with Schatz's appraisal of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), the Communists, and the United Electrical Workers (UE):

Schatz is concerned mostly with the UE and with the enemies of its Communist leadership which included ACTU. Within ACTU, the Pittsburgh chapter and I were the chief enemies. The National ACTU, the New York chapter, and the Detroit chapter were engaged in the struggle, but not in such depth or ferocity. I still think Schatz was mostly accurate in describing that battle. One glaring inaccuracy was his reference to me as a Jesuit. I may have been jesuitical in a pejorative sense, but not the real thing.

ACTU fought on many fronts. We helped in the great union drives of the late thirties, and we continued to help unions in a positive fashion. New York waged a noble fight against corruption and suffered grievously from its courageous stand against Cardinal Spellman's breaking of the Cemetery Workers' strike. Detroit was hung up on the UAW and was close to being an appendage of Walter Reuther's caucus. Actually it ceased to be a factor after Reuther took over the UAW. We all fought consistently for a progressive legislative agenda, although historians, such as Schatz, give us little or no credit for this.

In the McCarthy era we condemned the malign senator, but we were concerned, I am afraid, mostly with his putting the Red tag on those, such as Murray and Reuther, who were not Communists

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or fellow travelers. I know that I did not worry enough about what happened to the Communists and their allies in the McCarthy mopping-up era. Detroit was out of it by then I think, and I am not sure of New York and the national office but my impression is that they did not do much in that regard.

John Cort is a gentlemanly disagreer. He is worth listening to because he was not only a valiant ACTU member but has been a good trade unionist all his life, and a fine liberal.

It is a shame and a betrayal of true scholarship that the current specialists have neglected to consult Cort's files and the files of the ACTU since these are available in public libraries.

(MSGR.) CHARLES OWEN RICE

Waiting for equality

Rowley, Mass.

To the Editors: After forty-eight years as a Catholic, including sixteen in Catholic schools and eight in the Catholic press, I periodically decide that there is no new thought under the sun that I can have on American Catholicism. Then comes my latest *Commonweal*.

Such was my reaction to James Carroll's "On Not Skipping the Sermon." [November 2-16]. Carroll's excellent article gave me a whole new way of thinking about the dichotomy between men and women in the Roman Catholic church.

But on two points, I'm afraid my view is more pessimistic.

Carroll speaks of the priests who dissented to *Humanae Vitae*, and he also discusses the "peculiar anger" displayed by some leading bishops toward Geraldine Ferraro in the recent campaign for her "uppity" woman views on abortion. But he does not address the question of what happened to clerical dissent between 1968 and 1984. Are there any dissenters left among the American clergy? Or any with the courage to voice their dissent?

Those questions were best answered for me by an advertisement placed by Pro-Life Citizens for Mondale-Ferraro in the November 2 issue of *The St. Louis Review*. Among the 192 signers were only 6 priests, and 4 of the 6 were members of religious orders. The names of many of the lay signers were familiar to me as those of liberal Catholic leaders in St. Louis when I covered the church there in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The priests who used to stand among them were missing, some from the ranks of the clergy, and others only from the ranks of those willing to take a public stand.

On a hopeful note, the ad was signed by 49 religious women. But even that hope — and the dramatic change in the church it shows — casts some doubt on the validity of one of Carroll's points: that no matter how the clergy resist ending the man-woman dichotomy, "they will always have us, and with luck our children, at their Masses." I am not so sure, that the good nuns and the women they educated, after experiencing the change that Geraldine Ferraro made in the body politic, will wait indefinitely for equality in the church.

The time may not be so far away, that Catholic women barred from the altar (and those men who love them and do hold them equal) may feel conscience-bound to worship elsewhere, saying, as the narrator in Carroll's *Prince of Peace* does at the Episcopal funeral for his friend denied the rites of the Roman Catholic church: "And yes, we were alive. The church having died, was reborn. We were the church. . . ."

MARGARET M. CARLAN

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